

PEKING REVIEW

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**Put Mao Tse-tung's Thought in the
Forefront, Cadres Give the Lead
At Every Level**

"Hongqi" editorial.

**Long Live the Great Proletarian
Cultural Revolution**

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**China Sternly Refutes Indonesian
Government's Slanders**

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Nationwide Support for C.P.C. Central Committee Decision

WORKERS, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres and intellectuals all over China continue to send telegrams and letters to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, expressing warm support for the decision of the Party's Central Committee on the reorganization of the Peking Municipal Party Committee.

By June 11, more than 7,600 telegrams and large numbers of letters had been received. These messages from people of all nationalities of China emphasized that this wise decision expressed the wishes of the hundreds of millions of Chinese people and represented a great new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. They underlined the people's infinite confidence in and ardent love for the Central Committee and Chairman Mao.

Telegrams and letters continued to pour in from Peking as well as from all parts of north China, affirming the people's determination to carry the great socialist cultural revolution forward to final victory. (See P.R. No. 24.)

In east China, from town and countryside, from factories and schools, the decision has been greeted with great joy. Vast numbers of people have declared that they would hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher and continue to sweep away monsters of all kinds.

Forty-three sons and daughters of former poor and lower middle peasants now studying in a Shanghai normal school wrote to the Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "Respected Chairman Mao! We are determined to be your good students. The sea may dry up and rocks may crumble, but we will not change our minds. We pledge ourselves to de-

fend the Central Committee of the Party headed by you and safeguard the political power of the proletariat under your leadership, political power which has been won at the cost of the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs."

Seven hundred outstanding workers, including those who have distinguished themselves in studying Chairman Mao's works, of a Tsingtao building construction company in Shantung Province said that the news of the reorganization of the Peking Municipal Party Committee was a great encouragement to the working class. "We will hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher and, in the revolutionary working-class spirit of daring to fight for victory, open fire on the bourgeois 'authorities' and clean up all monsters and freaks.

Messages from numerous organizations and individuals throughout northwest China warmly acclaimed the decision of the Central Committee and the great victory over the anti-Party conspiracy of the "Three-Family Village" gangsters.

From Yen-an, where Chairman Mao had lived many years, came a telegram from the Zaoyuan Brigade of a people's commune. In hailing the Central Committee's decision, the brigade members said that they would weed out all those who oppose the Party and Chairman Mao, the most respected leader of the Chinese people. They pledged to carry on more strongly in the revolutionary tradition of Yen-an, and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship.

A telegram from teachers and students of Kashgar Teachers' College in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region stated: "Though we are on the distant frontier, we constantly think of Chairman Mao and have

infinite faith in his thought. We shall always follow the Central Committee and Chairman Mao and defend it and Mao Tse-tung's thought with our lives."

Messages from all parts of northeast China to the Central Committee and Chairman Mao expressed strong support and boundless love. They also showed their utter contempt and hatred for the vile revisionist gang.

Miners in the Hsinchiu Open Pit Coal Mine in Fushin, Liaoning Province, said that "the Communist Party and Chairman Mao are our saviours. Everything we now have is due to the Party and Chairman Mao. Whoever is against the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, whoever is against Mao Tse-tung's thought, is our sworn enemy."

Also in Liaoning, the workers and staff members of the Quartz Glass Factory in Chinchow, a new Taching-type industrial base, declared that the Central Committee's decision fully reflected the aspiration of the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals and pledged to stand in the forefront of the great socialist cultural revolution. They said that numerous facts had proved that the former Peking Municipal Party Committee was dominated by a bunch of diehard revisionists, renegades to the revolution, and enemies of the people.

Among the numerous messages of support from central-south China, many were written by metallurgical workers, geological prospectors and returned overseas Chinese.

A cable from a Wuhan building construction company condemned the vain attempt by a handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements to undermine socialism and

revive capitalism. The workers declared: "Proletarian state power is our life; whoever tries to seize it, we will fight to the finish. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the red sun in our hearts: we will smash to smithereens whoever dares to oppose it."

One thousand delegates to the 5th Hunan Provincial Congress of the Communist Youth League in Changsha and more than 500 activists in studying Chairman Mao's works, who also took part in the congress, wrote a letter which hailed the decision. They said that this historic victory had removed a "time bomb" buried in the revolutionary camp. They condemned the former Peking Municipal Party Committee for vainly trying to turn the younger generation into successors to the bourgeoisie by "peaceful evolution."

A great number of messages arrived from southwest China where many meetings took place in cities, counties and people's communes.

Ma Hsing-yao and six other workers of the Lisu national minority in Yunnan Province sent in a telegram. They recalled the fact that before liberation they had been among the most down-trodden who had suffered terrible oppression and exploitation at the hands of the Kuomintang reactionaries, landlords and the headmen of the old society. They declared that they would always faithfully follow the Party. "The Party and Chairman Mao," said the seven, "are our saviours. We who are liberated today will never forget the Party and Chairman Mao, nor will we forget the class struggle."

Sino-Malian Credit Agreement

An agreement on Chinese Government loans to the Malian Government was signed in Peking on June 9. Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Mamadou Madeira Keita, head of the Malian delegation, Member of the National Political Bureau of the Malian Sudanese Union Party and Minister of Justice, signed for their respective governments.

Minister Keita gave a farewell banquet on June 8 before leaving Peking for a visit to the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Premier Chou

Comrade Chou En-lai to Visit Rumania

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, will lead a Chinese Party and government delegation to the Rumanian Socialist Republic in June this year for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Rumania and the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian Socialist Republic.

En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among those present. During the day, the Malian guests had visited two production brigades of two people's communes in Tsunhwa County in Hopei Province. In his speech at the banquet, Mamadou Madeira Keita praised the two brigades and pointed out that their achievements were a victory for Mao Tse-tung's great thought. He expressed the conviction that the people armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and displaying firm determination would be able to build a new life everywhere.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi thanked the Malian Minister for his remarks in praise of Mao Tse-tung's great thought. He added that the Chinese people would firmly hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, win still greater victories in all fields and persist in supporting the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

Tanzanian Minister Ends Visit

The Tanzanian government economic delegation led by Paul Bomani, Minister for Economic Affairs and Development Planning, concluded its friendly visit to China on June 12.

An agreement on economic co-operation between the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanzania was

signed in Peking on June 8, marking a further development in the friendship between the peoples of China and Tanzania and in economic co-operation between the two countries.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien were among the guests present at a banquet given by Minister Bomani and his wife on June 7. Both Minister Bomani and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien spoke at the banquet.

Minister Bomani paid tribute to the Chinese people for their victorious struggle, carried out under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, against imperialist enslavement. Tanzania had similar problems, he said. The struggle by African countries against political and economic enslavement by the imperialists and colonialists was not over. He stressed that there still existed economic domination and enslavement by the imperialists and colonialists.

The Tanzanian Minister pointed out that the Government of the People's Republic of China had always come to the aid of other friendly countries striving to attain complete independence, and this had strengthened Afro-Asian solidarity. He added: "We in Tanzania are grateful to the Government of the People's Republic of China for their assistance in our struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said in his speech that, through sincere talks, the two sides were unanimous in their views on the further strengthening of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Tanzania and on other questions of common interest. "All this testifies to the sincere desire of the peoples of China and Tanzania for mutual support and friendly co-operation," he said. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien asked the distinguished guests to take with them the militant friendship of the 650 million Chinese people to the fraternal Tanzanian people.

Before leaving China for home, Minister Bomani, his wife and members of the Tanzanian delegation went to Shanghai for a three-day visit.

Put Mao Tse-tung's Thought in the Forefront, Cadres Give the Lead At Every Level

Following is a translation of an editorial published by "Hongqi" (Red Flag), theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in its No. 8 issue, 1966. — Ed.

THE experience of China's revolutionary struggles in the past decades may be summarized in thousands of points, but in the final analysis, they boil down to one single point: Chairman Mao's works are the supreme guide for work in all fields; Mao Tse-tung's thought is the fundamental guarantee of victory for all work. When Mao Tse-tung's thought is placed in the forefront, our cause advances irresistibly and triumphantly. This was the case during the period of the new-democratic revolution; it is also the case during the period of the socialist revolution. This is true of the socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts; it is also true of the socialist revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts.

A great movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works has unfolded in the past few years among the masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres. Mao Tse-tung's thought has penetrated deeper and deeper into the hearts and minds of the people and is being mastered by more and more people. For this reason, the socialist revolution has developed in greater scope and depth and socialist construction has advanced in ever bigger strides, with one miracle after another being created in every field of work.

Comrade Lin Piao has issued the call: "Study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions and be a good soldier of Chairman Mao," and he has initiated a movement in the People's Liberation Army for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. This is a great, new development. Comrade Lin Piao's instruction — "Study Chairman Mao's works with certain problems in mind, study and apply them in a creative way, combine study with application, and study first what is needed most so as to gain prompt results" — has become the guide for the whole army in the study of Chairman Mao's works and it has yielded incalculable results. Nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, large numbers of heroic people such as

Lei Feng, Wang Chieh, Ouyang Hai, Mai Hsien-teh and Sun Lo-yi have appeared in the Liberation Army. They are examples for the whole people to emulate. The great success made by the Liberation Army in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works has given a tremendous impetus to our revolutionary cause as a whole. Energetic emulation of the Liberation Army has become a universal call to action for all the people and all endeavours. In this emulation, the fundamental point is to learn from the Liberation Army how they persistently place Mao Tse-tung's thought in the forefront in all work and to learn from Comrade Lin Piao's extremely important instructions on the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

TACHING Oilfield set a shining example and blazed a new trail for socialist industrialization and the revolutionization of China's enterprises at a time when the country was in temporary economic difficulties and confronted by very hard conditions, materially and technically. What the people of Taching relied on was Mao Tse-tung's thought. They said: "The rise of our enterprise has been made possible by relying on Chairman Mao's two theses on philosophy: (*On Practice* and *On Contradiction*)." The renowned men and women of Taching have armed themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought. As the whole nation is emulating Taching, a large number of Taching-style enterprises has emerged, whose most salient characteristic is that they have placed Mao Tse-tung's thought in the forefront. The workers express it in these words: "When men follow what Chairman Mao says, machines will do what men tell them."

The Tachai Production Brigade set a magnificent example in China in the building of socialist agriculture: it has blazed a brilliant trail by creating high-yielding farmland and achieving one bumper harvest after another on barren mountains and poor land, without making any request for state help either in money or in material. What they have relied on is Mao Tse-tung's thought. The renowned men and women of Tachai have armed themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought. As the whole nation emulates Tachai, a large number of advanced, Tachai-style agri-

cultural units has emerged, whose most salient characteristic is that they have placed Mao Tse-tung's thought in the forefront. The peasants express it in these words: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the best revolutionary weapon: Armed with this weapon you can fight the mountains and they will change; when you aim it at the land, you can gather bigger crops; when you use it to battle against the water, you can make the water irrigate the land; when you use it in afforestation, the forests will prosper, and when you use it to fight the devious trends and evil blasts of the wind, you can stand your ground and see clearly which way to go."

The socialist education movement in China's vast countryside and in the cities, launched under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, is a struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois classes, between the two roads: socialism and capitalism; it is a great socialist revolutionary movement. The basic experience derived from it is also that Mao Tse-tung's thought must be placed in the forefront. Wherever Mao Tse-tung's writings are studied and applied well and penetrate into the hearts and minds of the people, there the movement is deep-rooted and thoroughgoing, the ideological outlook of the people undergoes revolutionary and radical change and a new situation appears in production.

Similarly in the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must ensure that Mao Tse-tung's thought is placed in the forefront. How are we to see through monsters? How are we to see through representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party? We must rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought and we must rely on it, too, to sweep away all monsters and thoroughly defeat those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party.

THE watershed dividing Marxism-Leninism from revisionism and revolution from counter-revolution lies between the alternatives of whether one supports or opposes the placing of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the forefront, whether one supports putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in command, supports putting "politics in command," or one advocates money-making in command and the placing of professional work in command.

The creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and the placing of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the forefront persistently in all work must rely on strong leadership by the Party committees at all levels, and the cadres giving the lead at all levels. This is a most important guarantee.

Some cadres busy themselves every day with meetings, giving instructions, telephoning and other daily tasks but do not study Chairman Mao's works well. We must know that we may do a thousand or ten thousand jobs, but if we forget to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, then we forget politics, the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and become blockheads. This is very dangerous. If we depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will not be able to do anything well and will lose our heads

in the storm of the class struggle, not knowing which way to go. If we depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will be corrupted by bourgeois ideology, become its captives and become revisionists. All Party cadres must thoroughly understand this and must regard creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works as a task of prime importance.

The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have achieved very good results in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. The phenomenon in some places where cadres have not studied as well as the masses, and leading cadres have not studied as well as the ordinary cadres, must be speedily changed. Cadres must give the lead in studying and applying. In studying Chairman Mao's works, cadres must also learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Only by doing so can they talk about leading. Before they can become revolutionary leaders, cadres must first give the lead in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

OUTSTANDING examples of cadres giving the lead in the study of Chairman Mao's works are to be found everywhere. Like the worker, peasant and soldier masses, they creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works and combine this study with application. They study in the process of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. They give the lead in study, work, physical labour and ideological remoulding. They join the masses in their work, physical labour, study and ideological revolutionization. This is why they have a high proletarian class consciousness, do their work well and are really able to lead the masses well. They all place Mao Tse-tung's thought in the forefront in their work, place it in command of everything, and use it to push everything forward. The Party committees at all levels should take care to sum up and popularize their experience.

If cadres and the masses study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, follow Chairman Mao's teachings, and act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, their ideological outlook will be transformed, the relations between cadres and the masses will change, the way they work will change and the situation in production will change.

With the cadres giving the lead at all levels, the ranks of activists in studying Chairman Mao's works will grow steadily and their level will gradually rise. Thus a still broader and deeper mass movement will be formed for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, so that Mao Tse-tung's thought takes deep root in the minds of the masses and is really placed in the forefront in all work. This is the fundamental guarantee for carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and adhering to the correct orientation for socialist construction.

It is the conclusion and the call of the Party to place Mao Tse-tung's thought in the forefront, and for cadres to give the lead at all levels.

Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

UNDER the direct leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, a great mass proletarian cultural revolution without parallel in history is swiftly and vigorously unfolding with the irresistible force of an avalanche.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the masses of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are sweeping away the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party, the monsters of all kinds and all forms of decadent bourgeois and feudal ideology. An unprecedentedly favourable situation has arisen on the political, ideological and cultural fronts.

This is an extremely acute and complex class struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in the superstructure, in the realm of ideology—a life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie attempting to restore capitalism and the proletariat determined to prevent it. This struggle affects the issue of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat and the economic base of socialism in our country can be consolidated and developed or not, and whether or not our Party and country will change colour. It affects the destiny and future of our Party and our country as well as the destiny and future of world revolution. It is most important that this struggle should not be taken lightly.

Why is it imperative that the proletarian cultural revolution be launched? Why is this revolution so important?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has scientifically summed up the international historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and put forth the theory of contradiction, classes and class struggle in socialist society. He constantly reminds us never to forget the class struggle, never to forget to put politics first and never to forget to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that we must take various measures to prevent a revisionist usurpation of leadership, to prevent a capitalist restoration. He points out that the overthrow of political power is necessarily preceded by efforts to seize hold of the superstructure and ideology in order to prepare public opinion, and that this is true both of the revolutionary and the counter-

revolutionary classes. Proceeding from this fundamental point of departure, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has called on us to launch the class struggle in the ideological field to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois.

Here is a great truth, a great development of Marxism-Leninism.

History shows that the bourgeoisie first took hold of ideology and prepared public opinion before it seized political power from the feudal landlord class. Starting from the period of the "Renaissance," the European bourgeoisie persistently criticized feudal ideology and propagated bourgeois ideology. It was in the 17th and 18th centuries, after several hundred years of preparation of public opinion, that the bourgeoisie seized political power and established its dictatorship in one European country after another.

Marx and Engels began propagating the theories of communism more than a century ago. They did so to prepare public opinion for the seizure of political power by the proletariat. The Russian proletarian revolution culminated in the seizure of political power only after decades of preparation of public opinion. Our own experience is even fresher in our minds. When the Chinese proletariat began to appear on the political scene, it was weak and unarmed. How was the revolution to start? It started with the propagation of Marxism-Leninism and the exposure of imperialism and its lackeys in China. The struggle of the Chinese proletariat for the seizure of political power began precisely with the May 4th cultural revolution.

In the final analysis, the history of the seizure of political power by the Chinese proletariat is a history of Mao Tse-tung's thought gripping the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. As the masses have aptly put it: "Without Mao Tse-tung's thought, there would have been no New China." By integrating Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great revolutionary standard-bearer, changed the whole face of the Chinese revolution. Historical experience shows that Mao Tse-tung's thought enabled us to gain the increasing support of the masses, to have armed forces and guns, to set up one revolutionary base area after another, to seize political power bit by bit and finally to take over political power throughout the country.

Having seized political power, the proletariat has become the ruling class and the landlord and capitalist classes have become the ruled. The landlord class and the reactionary bourgeoisie will never be reconciled to being ruled or to their extinction. They are constantly dreaming of a restoration through subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that they can once again ride on the backs of the working people. They still have great strength. They have money, extensive social contacts and international links, and experience in counter-revolution. In particular, the ideology of the exploiting classes still has a very big market. Some unsteady elements in the revolutionary ranks are prone to be corrupted by this ideology and consequently become counter-revolutionaries. Moreover, the spontaneous influence of the petty-bourgeoisie ceaselessly engenders capitalism. Having seized political power the proletariat still faces the danger of losing it. After being established the socialist system still faces the danger of a capitalist restoration. Failure to give this serious attention and take the necessary steps will end in our Party and our country changing colour and will cause tens of millions of our people to lose their lives.

Bourgeois and feudal ideologies are one of the most important strongholds of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been effected. Their efforts at restoration are first of all directed at getting their hold over ideology and using their decadent ideas in every possible way to deceive the masses. The seizure of ideology and the moulding of public opinion are the bourgeoisie's preparation for the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And when the opportunity is ripe, they will stage a coup to seize political power in one way or another.

After the establishment of socialist relations of production, the Soviet Union failed to carry out a proletarian cultural revolution in earnest. Bourgeois ideology ran rife, corrupting the minds of the people and almost imperceptibly undermining the socialist relations of production. After the death of Stalin, there was a more blatant counter-revolutionary moulding of public opinion by the Khrushchov revisionist group. And this group soon afterwards staged its "palace" coup to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and usurped Party, military and government power.

In the 1956 Hungarian counter-revolutionary incident, the counter-revolutionaries also prepared public opinion before they took to the streets to create disturbances and stage riots. This counter-revolutionary incident was engineered by imperialism and started by a group of anti-communist intellectuals of the Petofi Club. Imre Nagy, who at that time still wore the badge of a Communist, was "fitted out with a king's robe" and became the chieftain of the counter-revolutionaries.

International historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat shows that this dictatorship

cannot be consolidated, nor can the socialist system be consolidated, unless a proletarian cultural revolution is carried out and persistent efforts are made to eradicate bourgeois ideology. Bourgeois ideas spreading unchecked inevitably leads to the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the emergence of such representatives of the bourgeoisie as Khrushchov, who will seize political power through a "palace" coup or a military coup, or a combination of both. If the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be consolidated, if a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to advance in a socialist and communist direction, a proletarian cultural revolution is imperative; proletarian ideology must be fostered and bourgeois ideology eradicated and the ideological roots of revisionism must be pulled out completely and the roots of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, must be firmly implanted.

Socialist revolution and socialist construction demand energetic efforts in many fields of work. Running through this work there must be a red line, which is nothing other than the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the field of ideology.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us:

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled. (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*)

The purpose of the proletarian cultural revolution is to settle the question of "who will win" in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is a protracted and difficult historical task that runs through every field of work.

Some comrades regard the debates in the press between the proletariat and the reactionary bourgeoisie as "trivial, paper polemics" of literary men. Immersed in their work, some comrades are not concerned with the struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts and pay no heed to the class struggle in the field of ideology. This is absolutely wrong and most dangerous. If bourgeois ideology is allowed to run wild, the dictatorship of the proletariat will become the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the socialist system will become a capitalist system, or a semi-colonial, semi-feudal system. We must shout to these people: Comrades! The enemy is sharpening his sword, he wants to cut off our heads, he wants to overturn our state power. How is it that you see it and hear it and take no notice?

Both the seizure and consolidation of political power depend on the pen as well as the gun. If we are to safeguard and carry forward the revolutionary cause, we must not only hold on firmly to the gun but must take up the proletarian pen to blast and sweep away the pen of the bourgeoisie. Only by sweeping away all bourgeois ideology can we consolidate proletarian political power and keep an ever firmer hold on the proletarian gun.

A good look at the class struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts makes one stirred to the soul.

The struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxism and anti-Marxism, has never ceased for a moment since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic. After the establishment of socialist relations of production this class struggle in the ideological field has become ever deeper, ever more complex and acute.

In 1957 the bourgeois Rightists launched a frenzied attack against the Party and socialism. Before the alliance of the reactionary politicians headed by Chang Po-chun and Lo Lung-chi came out into the open in this offensive, bourgeois Rightist intellectuals had already scattered a good many poisonous weeds around; one after another, there emerged a number of counter-revolutionary notions, political programmes and films and novels. These were obviously efforts to prepare public opinion for the bourgeois Rightists to seize political power.

Under the wise leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people repulsed this wild offensive of the bourgeois Rightists and won an important victory on the political and ideological fronts.

Then in 1958, under the great red banner of the general line for socialist construction, the Chinese people embarked with boundless enthusiasm and energy on the great leap forward in every field of work and set up the people's communes in a big way. At the same time, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers zealously took to studying Chairman Mao's works and applying his thought in a creative way. A revolution also began on the ideological and cultural fronts.

From 1959 to 1962, China suffered temporary economic difficulties as a result of sabotage by the Soviet revisionists and three successive years of serious natural calamities. But difficulties could not intimidate the revolutionary Chinese people. They worked hard and courageously forged ahead under the wise leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. Within a few years they had overcome the difficulties and brought about an excellent situation. However, in these few years of economic difficulties, monsters had come out of their hiding places one after another. The offensive of the reactionary bourgeoisie against the Party and socialism reached a degree of utmost fury.

In the field of philosophical studies, Yang Hsien-chen blatantly spread the fallacy denying the identity of idea and being in an attempt to hold back the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers from bringing their subjective initiative into play and to oppose the great leap forward. Subsequently, he came out with the theory of "two combining into one," thus providing philosophical "grounds" for the extremely reactionary political line which advocated the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples, as well as the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household. The so-called "authorities" representing the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party wildly brandished the three cudgels of "philistinism," "oversimplification" and "pragmatism" to oppose the workers, peasants and soldiers from studying Chairman Mao's works and applying his thought in a creative way. Moreover, exploiting their positions and powers, they forbade the press to publish philosophical articles written by workers, peasants and soldiers. At the same time, under the guise of studying the history of philosophy, certain bourgeois "specialists" widely propagated the ideas of "liberty, equality and fraternity" and lavished praise on Confucius, making use of this mummy to publicize their whole set of bourgeois ideas.

In the field of economic studies, Sun Yeh-fang and company put forward a whole set of revisionist fallacies. They wanted to put profit and money in command to oppose putting Mao Tse-tung's thought and politics in command. They vainly attempted to change the socialist relations of production and turn socialist enterprises into capitalist ones.

In the field of historical studies, a pack of bourgeois "authorities" launched unscrupulous attacks on the revolution in historical studies which began in 1958. They opposed putting Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, in command in historical research and spread the notion that historical data are everything. They used what they called "historicism" to counter the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle. They bitterly hated those revolutionary research workers in history who made critical appraisals of emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers and gave prominence to the peasants and the peasant wars. They lauded the emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers to the skies while energetically vilifying the peasants and peasant wars. They were the bourgeois "royalists" in the field of historical studies. Among them, some were inveterate anti-communists. These include Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan.

In the field of literature and art, the representatives of the bourgeoisie spared no effort to propagate the whole revisionist line in literature and art to oppose Chairman Mao's line, and vigorously propagated what they called the traditions of the 1930s. Typical

were their theories on "truthful writing," on "the broad path of realism," on "the deepening of realism," on opposition to "subject-matter as the decisive factor," on "middle characters," on opposition to "the smell of gunpowder," on "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age," and on "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy." Under the "guidance" of these theories, there appeared a wave of bad, anti-Party, anti-socialist operas and plays, films and novels, and histories of the cinema and of literature.

In the field of education, the representatives of the bourgeoisie did their utmost to oppose the educational policy advanced by Chairman Mao, which is aimed at enabling the educated to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become socialist-minded, cultured working people. They spared no effort in opposing the part-work, part-study educational system and propagating the educational "theories" and systems of Soviet revisionism. They made desperate efforts to win the younger generation away from us in the vain hope of training them into heirs of the bourgeoisie.

In the field of journalism, the representatives of the bourgeoisie exerted themselves to oppose the guiding role of journalism, and advocated the bourgeois conception of "imparting knowledge." They vainly attempted to strangle the leadership of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, in journalistic work, hoping to give free currency to bourgeois contraband and wrest from us our journalistic base.

The most reactionary and fanatical element in this adverse current was the anti-Party "Three-Family Village" gang. They had many bases — newspapers, magazines, forums and publishing organizations. Their long arms reached out to all corners of the cultural field and they usurped some positions of leadership. Their nose for anything reactionary was extremely sharp and their writings showed extremely close and prompt co-ordination with anything reactionary in the political atmosphere. Under direction, organized, acting according to plan and with set purposes, they prepared public opinion for the restoration of capitalism and the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Playing the main role in this adverse current were the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party. They waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag and donned the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to oppose Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Dressing themselves up as "authorities" on Marxism, as "authorities" clarifying the Party's policies, they wantonly spread poison and deceived the masses. They took advantage of their positions and powers, on the one hand to let loose all kinds of monsters, and on the other hand to suppress the counter-attacks of the proletarian Left. They are a bunch of schemers who put up the sign-board of communism behind which they actually peddled anti-Party and anti-socialist poison. They are a most dangerous bunch.

We have constantly fought back against the attacks launched by the bourgeoisie from 1959 onwards. Especially since last November, when Comrade Yao Wen-yuan published his article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*" and sounded the clarion of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a mass counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie's attacks has opened up.

In this counter-attack the political consciousness of the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals has risen to an unprecedented level and their fighting power has enormously increased. The battles fought by the masses have shattered and uprooted the "Three-Family Village" anti-Party clique. And its roots lay nowhere else than in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. A black anti-Party and anti-socialist line ran through the leadership of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Communist Party. Some of its leading members are not Marxist-Leninists, but revisionists. They controlled many bases and media and exercised a dictatorship over the proletariat. They are a clique of careerists and conspirators. Their plots were exposed and they were defeated. The Central Committee of our Party reorganized the Peking Municipal Party Committee and established a new one. This decision was very wise and absolutely correct. It was a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

From the moment we launched this large-scale counter-attack last year, the representatives of the bourgeoisie who wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, were thrown into utter confusion. They hurriedly invoked five "talismans" to support and shelter the bourgeois Rightists and suppress and attack the proletarian Left.

One of these "talismans" was raised in the name of "opening wide."

The representatives of the bourgeoisie, who wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, tried their best to distort the Party's "opening wide" policy by removing its class content and twisting it into bourgeois liberalization. They allowed only the bourgeois Rightists to "speak out" and did not allow the proletarian Left to enter the contest. They allowed only the bourgeois Rightists to attack and did not allow the proletarian Left to counter-attack. They let the Rightists "open" as wide as they could while they either shelved the counter-attacking manuscripts sent in by those of the Left or compelled the authors to rewrite them in the light of their ideas. They said that *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* should not be criticized from a political angle, otherwise this would affect the "opening wide" and people would not dare to speak up. We would like to ask these lords: Did you just "open" very slightly? Haven't you attacked the Party politically in the manner of a warrior brandishing his sword or drawing his bow? Why did you prohibit the proletariat from "open-

ing wide" to counter-attack the bourgeois Rightists politically? In fact, your "opening wide" gave the green light to all the bourgeoisie and the red light to hold back the proletariat.

Another "talismán" went by the name of "construction before destruction."

Pretending to be "dialecticians," the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, set up a clamour about "construction before destruction" when the proletariat countered the bourgeois attack. And on the pretext of "construction before destruction," they would not allow the proletariat to destroy bourgeois ideology, to attack the reactionary political citadel of the bourgeoisie. "Construction before destruction" is opposed to dialectics and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly teaches us that there is no construction without destruction. It is precisely destruction that we want to come first. Destruction means revolution, it means criticism. Destruction necessarily calls for reasoning, and reasoning is construction. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, has all developed in the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology, Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism. Historical dialectics is nothing other than destruction before construction and construction in the course of destruction. Is not Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought—the greatest truth ever known since time immemorial—construction? We would like to ask those bourgeois lords, what is it you want to construct? Obviously, only bourgeois, reactionary ideology and not proletarian, revolutionary ideology. When the proletariat, employing Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, irresistibly countered the bourgeois attack and set to work to destroy bourgeois ideology, the clamour you set up about "construction before destruction" was precisely for the purpose of protecting the Rightists and preventing the Left from counter-attacking. It was opposition to the proletarian cultural revolution.

A third "talismán" came under the head of opposing and holding back the growth of "Left scholar-tyrants."

Whenever the proletarian Left countered bourgeois attacks, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, on the pretext of wanting to be "meticulous" and "profound," condemned the Left as being "crude" and acting like a "cudgel." During the present great counter-offensive against bourgeois attacks, they again invoked the "talismán" of opposing and holding back the growth of "Left scholar-tyrants" in a vain attempt to hold the proletarian Left down and suppress it. This would never do. We say that the tag of "scholar-tyrant" fits you bourgeois representatives and "academic authorities" perfectly. You lords who wormed your way into the Party and shielded and backed the bourgeois scholar-tyrants are the big Party-tyrants and scholar-tyrants—tyrants who do not read the newspapers and books, who are divorced from the

masses and devoid of knowledge, and who try to overwhelm others by the use of your power. The proletarian Left always insists on the truth of Marxism-Leninism, the truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and relies on scientific contention and evidence in criticizing bourgeois ideology. The proletarian Left has nothing in common with "scholar-tyrants." We shall enter the lists against the bourgeois "scholar-tyrants" with colours flying and denounce you, the small handful of big Party-tyrants and scholar-tyrants. We tell you lords, who malign the Left as a "cudgel," that the Left is the steel cudgel, the golden cudgel, of the proletariat. And we shall use this cudgel to smash the old world to smithereens, defeat your handful of big Party-tyrants and scholar-tyrants and destroy your underworld kingdom. This is what is called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another "talismán" went by the name of "purely academic discussion."

In order to cover up the bourgeois Rightist attacks on the Party and socialism and, at the same time, to suppress the counter-attacks of the proletarian Left, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, described the class struggle in the realm of ideology as a "purely academic discussion." We would ask these lords: Is there really anything academic about Wu Han's "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* and the anti-Party and anti-socialist double-talk of Teng To, Liao Mo-sha and company? The so-called "purely academic discussion" is a fraud the bourgeoisie often plays. There is nothing "purely academic" in class society; everything academic is based on the world outlook of a given class, is subordinate to politics and serves the politics and economy of a given class in one way or another. In the course of our present full-scale counter-offensive, the representatives of the bourgeoisie held up the "talismán" of so-called "purely academic discussion" and opposed putting politics first in order to cover up the vital political issue concerning the anti-Party "Three-Family Village" or "Four Family Village" gangster inns, to put bourgeois politics first and oppose putting proletarian politics first, and to drag this great struggle to the Right and divert it on to a revisionist course.

Still another important "talismán" of theirs was what they called: "Everybody is equal before the truth," "everyone has his share of erroneous statements" and "it is all a muddle."

In the course of the proletarian counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, invoked this "talismán," on the one hand to get their own men to hang on to their positions and not retreat an inch, and on the other hand to create confusion so that they could fish in troubled waters and await an opportunity to counter-attack.

The out-and-out bourgeois slogan of "everybody is equal before the truth" is thoroughly hypocritical.

There can be no equality at all between opposing classes. Truth has its class nature. In the present era, the proletariat alone is able to master objective truth because its class interests are in complete conformity with the objective laws. The reactionary and decadent bourgeoisie has long been completely divorced from the truth. Its so-called "truth" can be nothing more than a fallacy that runs counter to the tide of the times and the objective laws. There can be no equality whatsoever between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology, between proletarian truth and bourgeois fallacy. The only question involved is whether the East wind prevails over the West wind or vice versa. Can any equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of the superstructure including the various fields of culture, and the continual cleansing of the proletarian ranks of representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party and wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag? The old social democrats in the decades gone by and the modern revisionists in the past decade and more have never permitted the proletariat to enjoy equality with the bourgeoisie. In bringing up the slogan "everybody is equal before the truth," the representatives of the bourgeoisie who wormed their way into the Party wanted to bolster up the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements while suppressing the counter-attacks of the Left. We would like to ask these lords: Weren't you prating about equality with your tongue in your cheek? Why did you withhold from publication articles by the Left, while you permitted the Rightists alone to publish their numerous poisonous weeds? What equality was this? We have to tell you bluntly, we absolutely will not permit you any equality with the proletariat. Our struggle against you is one of life and death. With regard to your kind of anti-Party and anti-socialist gangs, dictatorship is the only thing.

The argument that "everyone has his share of erroneous statements" and "it is all a muddle" was a great conspiracy. We consider that first of all a line of demarcation must be drawn between classes, between revolution and counter-revolution. In the course of understanding objective events, the revolutionary Left may commit one error or another, but these cannot be mentioned in the same breath as the anti-Party, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary speeches and actions of the bourgeois Rightists; the two things are radically different. In the present great cultural revolution the principal contradiction is the antagonistic one between, on the one hand, the broad masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, and, on the other hand, you the handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie. This is a contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution, an irreconcilable contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. As for your counter-revolutionary speeches and actions, we must subject

them all to merciless criticism and sound the call for attack. Bourgeois academic ideas in general must, of course, come under criticism, but that is different from the treatment befitting anti-Party and anti-socialist elements such as you are. In dealing with ordinary bourgeois scholars, we shall go on providing them with suitable conditions of work and let them remould their world outlook in the course of their work, provided they do not oppose the Communist Party and the people. When we hit back at the attacks by the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois representatives who sneaked into our Party set up the clamour about "everyone has his share of erroneous statements" and "it is all a muddle" with no other aim than holding the Left in a tight grip, of revenging themselves by creating a great muddle. This was just a waste of effort. We go by Chairman Mao's guidance and make a distinction between the Left, the middle and the Right; we rely on the Left, combat the Right and win over, unite with and educate the majority so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

All these "talismans" of the bourgeois representatives who sneaked into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, were all directed at one goal — the subjection of the proletariat to their dictatorship. They already usurped some leading positions and applied dictatorship over us in various fields of culture. We have to recapture all these positions and overthrow these bourgeois representatives.

A striking feature of the bourgeois representatives who sneaked into the Party is their opposition to the red flag while waving "red flags."

How can we recognize them? The only way is "to read Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act on his instructions."

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, it is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. The theory and practice of Comrade Mao Tse-tung may be likened to the ceaseless movement of the sun and moon in the skies and the endless flow of the rivers and streams on earth. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works are the highest directives for all our work. The watershed between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between revolution and counter-revolution, lies in whether one supports Mao Tse-tung's thought and acts in accordance with it or whether one rejects it and refuses to act in accordance with it.

We endorse and support all that is in keeping with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We shall fearlessly struggle against and overthrow anybody who opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, no matter how high the position he holds and how great the "fame" and "authority" he enjoys.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie who wormed their way into the Party look like a "colossus." Yet in fact, like all reactionaries, they are only paper tigers.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the steering gear, and the workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force

in the proletarian cultural revolution. This being so, we can certainly defeat every kind of monsters and win victory after victory in the proletarian cultural revolution.

Maliciously and gleefully, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists at home and the imperialists and revisionists abroad think that they can gain some advantage while we are unmasking and criticizing the anti-Party "Three-Family Village" gang. We have to tell the reactionaries at home and abroad that they are as stupid as a donkey. The exact purpose of unmasking the anti-Party "Three-Family Village" gang, subjecting them to criticism and sweeping away all the monsters is to eliminate your agents within our Party and our country and remove the "time-bomb" on which you place your hopes. As the great proletarian cultural revolution develops in depth, we shall implant Mao Tse-tung's thought still more firmly among the people all over the country and completely dig out the roots of revisionism and of the restoration of capitalism. History will ruthlessly deride you silly donkeys.

The reactionaries at home and abroad have spread the lie that we are attacking all intellectuals. This is nonsense. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is directed against a handful of evil men who put up the signboard of communism behind which they peddled their anti-communist wares; it is directed against a handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary bourgeois intellectuals. With regard to the great number of intellectuals who came over from the old society, our policy is to unite with them, educate and remould them. And the ranks of the proletarian intellectuals are steadily growing in the course of the great cultural revolution.

Revolutionary people, let us all unite still more closely on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the great red banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, let us go forward in triumph!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 8, 1966.)

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Capture the Positions in the Field of Historical Studies Seized by The Bourgeoisie

THE great proletarian cultural revolution is pounding the reactionary fortresses in every sphere of ideology, including those in the field of historical studies.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie have made historical studies an important position of theirs in opposing the Party and socialism. They have distorted history and used the past to satirize the present with a view to deceiving the masses and preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. However, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are using the weapon of the materialist conception of history to reveal history as it really was and analyse the present trends of different classes, and they are waging a fierce struggle against the reactionary conception of history in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

The revolutionary materialist conception of history, i.e., historical materialism, and the reactionary idealist conception of history, i.e., historical idealism, are diametrically opposed to each other. The former holds that

the history of mankind is the history of the working people, whereas the latter holds that the history of mankind is the history of emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers. The former holds that revolution can change everything, whereas the latter holds that the favours granted by emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers determine everything. These two diametrically antagonistic conceptions of history can never coexist in peace.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters arm their minds with historical materialism and use it to observe and change the world. All reactionaries are historical idealists who invariably attempt to turn back the wheel of history in violation of the laws of historical development. As the socialist revolution deepens, those who cling fast to historical idealism inevitably degenerate, one batch after another, into anti-Party and anti-socialist elements. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

That is why the bourgeois "authorities" entrenched in a number of positions in the field of historical stud-

ies, as well as the bourgeois representatives backing them, have set themselves against the people. Some of these "authorities" have already become anti-Party and anti-socialist elements, while others have degenerated and are on the verge of becoming anti-Party and anti-socialist elements.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history."

He also says, "The class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese feudal society."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also points out by way of summing up that "classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism."

It is precisely these scientific theses of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's that the bourgeois "authorities" in the field of historical studies are opposing. They stubbornly deny that the thousands of years of the history of civilization are the history of class struggle. They use their so-called historicism, i.e., the idealist conception of history, to oppose and adulterate the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle. They stubbornly deny that the people are the motive force of world history, and they spare no effort to smear the working people and the peasant wars. Clamouring that the "policy of concession" of the reactionary ruling classes is the motive force of historical development, they altogether write off the great role of the working people and of peasant wars. They eulogize only emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers who rode roughshod over the people. They are the "royalists" in the field of historical studies.

These "royalists" in historical studies do not want revolution themselves and forbid others to make revolution. The revolutionary historians must take Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide and re-write the whole of history. The great revolution in the science of history has incurred the rancorous hatred of these "royalists" in historical studies, who feel their approaching doom. Hence they have been doing their best to resist and undermine this revolution.

In carrying out all kinds of activities against Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, these bourgeois "authorities" in the field of historical studies are catering to the needs of the bourgeois and landlord classes in their resistance to socialism. What these "royalists" are doing is nothing but protecting the old system, the conservatives and the old ideology, that is, protecting the ideological positions in preparation for the restoration of capitalism. Moreover, some of them have made use of the corpses of historical figures to

launch direct and virulent attacks on our great proletarian Party and socialist system.

The battle between the two opposing forces in the field of historical studies is decided by the law governing the class struggle in socialist society.

In our new era of great changes, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed the Marxist materialist conception of history and raised it to a new peak. He has systematically and comprehensively put forward theories on contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society and given a penetrating explanation of the motive force of the development of socialist society. He points out that the progressive development of socialist society must take as its key link the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism.

This holds true in the various spheres of activity of our Party and state, and of course in the field of historical studies too. Innumerable facts prove that the field of historical studies is replete with fierce class struggle. This position of historical studies will be seized by the bourgeoisie, the moment the proletariat relaxes its efforts to hold it. In this field, either the materialist conception of history is applied to interpret history in the service of proletarian politics and the socialist revolution, or the idealist conception of history is applied to interpret history in the service of bourgeois politics and the restoration of capitalism. In historical studies, as in other sciences, the materialist and idealist conceptions of history can never coexist in peace. Nor can proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology. Between them there can only be a struggle of "who will win," a life-and-death struggle.

While insistently denying the existence of class struggle, the bourgeois "authorities" in the field of historical studies have in fact been waging a flagrant class struggle against the proletariat by their numerous reactionary ideas and activities.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." This law is completely applicable to our domestic class enemies. The landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements and Rightists will never go against this logic, nor will such gangsters as the "Three-Family Village" clique and the anti-communist intellectuals in the field of historical studies.

Historical science is an important ideological battlefield where a fierce class struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology is going on. In the great proletarian cultural revolution we must capture, one after another, the positions seized by the bourgeois "authorities."

The bourgeois "authorities" who have seized a number of positions in historical studies have exercised a dictatorship over the proletariat in some departments. Taking advantage of their power, they have produced great numbers of poisonous weeds and suppressed the counter-attacks by the proletarian Left. They use contemptible means of all kinds to deal blows at revolutionary historians. Behaving like profiteers, they try to monopolize historical data. Even after Wu Han, the eager vanguard of the "Three-Family Village" anti-Party clique, had been exposed, they still hid the background materials concerning him and shielded this old anti-communist hand. In the field of historical studies, they are virtually like the "eastern despots" and "western despots" of pre-liberation days.

These "authorities" regard historical science as a domain under their monopoly. When other people published articles criticizing them, they even shouted publicly that this was an "aggression against history." We want to tell these lords: we must occupy your anti-Party and anti-socialist positions in historical studies.

As you see it, this is "aggression." As we see it, this is "seizure of power." What we are doing is precisely to regain the leadership you have usurped from the proletariat and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat over the domain in which you are exercising the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, we must completely destroy the reactionary bourgeois positions in historical studies and smash the counter-revolutionary idealist system of historical studies which serves the restoration of capitalism. Armed with the newest, highest and militant historical materialism of our times developed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the proletarian fighters in the cultural revolution can undoubtedly win great new victories and firmly hoist the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over the positions in historical studies.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 3.)

China in the Midst of High-Tide of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

A high-tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been unfolding vigorously throughout China for several months, in response to the great call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This is a great revolutionary movement aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and advancing the cause of socialism.

Hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have been writing articles, holding discussions and putting up posters written in big characters to sweep away the monsters of all kinds entrenched in ideological and cultural positions, and to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology with great vigour. Those who echo the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeois "specialists," "scholars" and "authorities" have been routed, one group after another, with every bit of their prestige swept into the dust. The reactionary strongholds controlled by members of the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist gangs have been breached, one after another. The magnitude, impact, intensity and strength of this great proletarian cultural revolution are without precedent in history. The whole of China is a vast scene of seething revolution.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has all along taught the Chinese people that the socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts alone is not enough. It is necessary to carry out thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts as well. Chairman Mao has pointed out that, with the deepening of China's socialist revolution, the issue of the proletarian cultural revolution would inevitably come to the forefront. The proletarian revolution demands the complete destruction of the old decadent culture of the capitalist and feudal classes and the creation of a brand new socialist culture which serves proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers. The overthrown capitalist class and other exploiting classes, however, are stubbornly entrenched in ideological and cultural positions and spread the cultural viruses of capitalism and feudalism so as to serve bourgeois politics, pave the way for the restoration of capitalism and prepare public opinion for subversion of the proletarian state power. As a result, class struggle in the ideological and cultural fields between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become inevitable, and at times is even very sharp.

Shortly after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed in 1956, the bourgeois Rightists mounted attacks in 1957, and a sharp class struggle took place.

These attacks were repulsed by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Between 1959 and 1962, anti-China waves were stirred up by the imperialists and modern revisionists who took advantage of the temporary difficulties resulting from sabotage by the Khrushchov revisionists and serious natural calamities in China. In co-ordination with the imperialists and modern revisionists, the reactionary bourgeois forces within the country availed themselves of this opportunity to unleash another series of frantic attacks against the proletariat. The representatives of the bourgeoisie entrenched in academic, educational, journalistic, literary and art, publishing and other cultural fields unleashed frenzied attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system, and leadership by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

These anti-Party and anti-socialist criminal activities of the bourgeoisie aroused strong indignation among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. The revolutionary masses have waged uninterrupted struggle against them. The signal for the counter-offensive in full force by the proletariat against the reactionary bourgeoisie was given by Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*" carried by the *Shanghai Wen Hui Daily* on November 10 last year, which raised the curtain on the current upsurge of the great cultural revolution.

Between publication of Yao Wen-yuan's article last November and April of this year, the revolution revolved mainly around criticism and exposure of Wu Han's anti-Party and anti-socialist crimes. Wu Han served U.S. imperialism as a cultural servant. He was personally groomed by the reactionary politician Hu Shih and consistently worshipped the U.S. and was pro-Chiang Kai-shek and anti-Communist. He wormed his way into the revolutionary ranks on the eve of the country's liberation and later became Vice-Mayor of Peking. Posing as a revolutionary cadre while engaged in counter-revolutionary dealings, Wu Han is in fact a lackey of U.S. imperialism.

Starting in 1959, Wu Han wrote a series of reactionary articles and drama to attack the Communist Party, the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his drama and his articles on *Hai Jui*, he used the story of the dismissal from office 400 years ago in the Ming Dynasty of this Chinese feudal bureaucrat to distort history, satirize the present and complain about the "injustice" done to the anti-Party and anti-socialist Right opportunists who were "dismissed" from office by the Chinese people in 1959, and to encourage them to stage a come-back.

Yao Wen-yuan's article of last November and "The Reactionary Nature of 'Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor' and *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*" written by Chi Pen-yu and "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor and *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* Are Two Big Poisonous Weeds Against the Party and Socialism" by Kuan Feng and Lin Chieh,

both published early in April this year, exposed Wu Han's reactionary political character, thus bringing the struggle in criticizing Wu Han to the key issue of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. Numerous articles were also published by most newspapers and periodicals in the country, unfolding further criticism of Wu Han. The history of Wu Han's anti-Communist and anti-popular true colours as a servant of U.S. imperialism has thus been more clearly revealed.

The secrets of the Three-Family Village were unmasked more fully from the beginning to the end of May this year. The Three-Family Village represents an anti-Party and anti-socialist clique which includes Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha. Teng To is a renegade who insinuated himself into the Party once again and is a Rightist who was not caught but slipped through in 1957. Over the last few years, he usurped the post of member of the Secretariat of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Liao Mo-sha is a bourgeois representative who wormed his way into the Party and usurped the post of Director of the United Front Department of the Municipal Party Committee over the last few years. Using as their instruments the fortnightly *Frontline*, the *Peking Daily* and the *Peking Evening News*, sponsored by the Municipal Party Committee, Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha wrote large numbers of miscellaneous articles starting in 1959, releasing a whole series of anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous arrows to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

On May 8 this year, the *Liberation Army Daily* published "Open Fire at the Black Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Line!" by Kao Chu and the *Kwangming Daily* brought out "Heighten Our Vigilance and Distinguish the True from the False" by Ho Ming, exposing the plot of *Frontline* and the *Peking Daily* to make a bogus criticism of Teng To's anti-Party and anti-socialist crimes while in fact covering them up and to wage a bogus struggle against him while in fact shielding him. At the same time, the two papers mentioned above published material under the title "Teng To's *Evening Chats at Yenshan Is Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Double-Talk.*"

The *Liberation Daily* and the *Wen Hui Daily* in Shanghai on May 10 published "On 'Three-Family Village'" by Yao Wen-yuan (see *Peking Review*, No. 22 — P.R. Ed.), which made a systematic and comprehensive exposure and criticism of the sinister Three-Family Village gang, dealing it vital blows. The article pointed out: "The course of events from the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* to that of Three-Family Village has been one of stirring class struggle. It is a great revolution in the political, ideological and cultural fields. Faced with so arduous and militant a task, we must dare to make revolution." It said: "All those who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, obstruct the advance of the socialist revolution, or are hostile to the interests

of the revolutionary people of China and the world should be exposed, criticized and knocked down, whether they are 'masters' or 'authorities,' a Three-Family or a Four-Family Village, and no matter how famous they are, what influential positions they hold, by whom they are directed or supported, or how numerous their flatterers are."

On May 11, the magazine *Hongqi* (Red Flag) printed the article "On the Bourgeois Stand of *Frontline* and the *Peking Daily*" by Chi Pen-yu, which revealed that these two publications and the *Peking Evening News* themselves for a long time had been instruments of Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha in their frantic attacks on the Party and socialism.

Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) on May 14 printed "Expose Teng To's Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Features" by Lin Chieh; it pointed out that Teng To and company had followed a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line and actively worked for the restoration of capitalism.

When the Three-Family Village gangster inn was exposed, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals began holding discussions and writing articles indignantly condemning the criminal activities of the handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements.

Since early June this year, it has been further revealed that the sinister Three-Family Village gang had its roots in the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Starting on June 1, the *People's Daily* published a series of editorials entitled "Sweep Away All Monsters." "A Great Revolution That Touches the People to Their Very Souls," "Capture the Positions in the Field of Historical Studies Seized by the Bourgeoisie," "Tear Aside the Bourgeois Mask of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,'" "To Be Proletarian Revolutionaries or Bourgeois Royalists?" (see *Peking Review*, Nos. 22-25 — P.R. Ed.) and others. These editorials analysed the current situation in the great cultural revolution, refuted the absurd views of the reactionary bourgeoisie to resist the proletarian cultural revolution and put forward the fighting tasks of developing the great cultural revolution even more profoundly.

The editorial entitled "Sweep Away All Monsters" pointed out that this great proletarian cultural revolution is aimed at exposing thoroughly the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line that runs through all Three-Family Villages, big and small, and at "demolishing all the old ideology and culture and all the old customs and habits, which, fostered by the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years, and creating and fostering among the masses an entirely new ideology and culture and entirely new customs and habits — those of the proletariat."

A poster in big characters written by Nieh Yuan-tzu and 6 others at Peking University was broadcast on

June 1, exposing the plot of members of the sinister Three-Family Village gang who tried to put up a last-ditch fight through their control at the university.

In a commentator's article entitled "Hail the Big-Character Poster at Peking University," the *People's Daily* on June 2 called on the proletarian revolutionaries to rise up in a thoroughgoing revolution and crush all the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist gangs and organizations and their discipline completely.

Waving the black flag of "liberty, equality and fraternity," members of the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist gangs are countering the line for the proletarian cultural revolution of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. In the editorial entitled "Tear Aside the Bourgeois Mask of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,'" the *People's Daily* made a systematic criticism of the deceptive, hypocritical and reactionary nature of this bourgeois slogan and revealed the real purpose of these elements of the sinister gangs which is to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and to carry out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Two items of news were released on June 3: the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided to reorganize the Peking Municipal Committee of the Party and appointed new secretaries; and the new Peking Municipal Committee decided to reorganize the Party Committee of Peking University. In its editorial the following day entitled "New Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought" (see *Peking Review*, No. 24 — P.R. Ed.), the *People's Daily* pointed out that the roots of the counter-revolutionary Three-Family Village clique were in the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party. Shot through with a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line, it was not an instrument of the proletariat to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie but an instrument of the bourgeoisie to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat. The decision of the Central Committee of the Party to reorganize the Peking Municipal Committee was an historic victory in China's great proletarian cultural revolution, a new victory for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals in Peking and all other parts of the country, full of revolutionary enthusiasm, joy and inspiration, have warmly supported the decision of the Central Committee of the Party to reorganize the Peking Municipal Committee and warmly hailed this new victory.

At present, this great proletarian cultural revolution is, with the power of a thunderbolt, becoming ever more profound, and it is developing with the momentum of an avalanche, pounding with great power to smash all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the feudal remnant forces and sweeping away the reactionary ideological and decadent cultural influences of imperialism.

This great proletarian cultural revolution is taking place under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Four brilliant works of Chairman Mao — "On New Democracy," "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work" — are an important part of the great Mao Tse-tung's thought, which represents the summit of the contemporary Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theories of literature and art and is the supreme guide for China's great cultural revolution.

The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres, who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have become the main force in storming and shattering the old bourgeois culture. Large numbers of excellent articles written by workers, peasants, students and cadres have appeared in the press in all parts of the country. In this struggle, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have displayed to the full their talent and wisdom and a younger generation of Marxist-Leninists is growing up. Gone for ever is the historical period in which culture was monopolized by bourgeois "scholars," "specialists" and "authorities."

Revolutionary proletarian culture is growing rapidly in the struggle to overthrow bourgeois culture. China's ancient Peking opera, the most stubborn of strongholds, was taken by storm in the past few years with the emergence of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes like *Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*. Foreign classical art forms like the ballet, symphonic music and sculpture have undergone a revolutionary transformation with the emergence of the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard*, etc. These fine works of art have been approved by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and enthusiastically acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. With the development in depth of the great proletarian cultural revolution, all departments in the cultural field of our country will inevitably appear in an entirely new light, bringing forth an increasing number of works that are excellent both in ideological content and artistic form, and an increasing number of highly scientific and revolutionary theses.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence aimed at safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat. Imperialism and modern revisionism seek to subvert the political power of the proletariat both by force of arms and by cultural infiltration and ideological poisoning. Every counter-revolutionary restoration starts in the realm of ideology so as to mould public opinion. This is what happened in the usurpation of the leadership of the Soviet Party and state by the Khrushchov revisionist group and in the 1956 Hungarian counter-revolutionary riots. The great victory of our great cultural revolution is also a great victory in

chopping off the claws of imperialism, digging out the roots of revisionism and preventing a capitalist restoration.

All the revolutionary peoples of the world are watching with great attention and warmly acclaiming the great victory of our great cultural revolution. However, a small handful of terror-stricken imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of various countries are babbling about it.

Some reactionaries gloatingly take a malicious delight in this, as if the rule of the proletariat in China had hit some snag and they could profit by it. The illusions of these "lord-masters" are soon smashed to smithereens by facts. By sweeping away monsters of all kinds, we are digging out the social foundation of imperialism and modern revisionism within our country. The political power of the proletariat is now firmer than ever.

Some reactionaries slanderously allege that we are "destroying culture." Well, we want not only to destroy but to eradicate the decadent culture of imperialism and modern revisionism. Only by destroying and eradicating such things is it possible really to draw benefit from the fine culture created in the course of history and to develop the new culture of the proletariat to the full.

Some reactionaries vilify us by saying that the spearhead of our struggle is "directed against all intellectuals." This is sheer nonsense. The spearhead of our great proletarian cultural revolution is directed against a small handful of anti-Communist villains who have donned the cloak of communism and a small handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary bourgeois intellectuals. The policy of the Communist Party towards the mass of intellectuals coming from the old society is one of uniting with, educating and remoulding them. The ranks of the proletarian intellectuals are growing with each passing day in the great cultural revolution.

An excellent situation prevails throughout China, with an all-round rise in the national economy and a steady, healthy development of the upsurge in economic construction. Through the great cultural revolution, Mao Tse-tung's thought has taken deeper root in people's minds, the revolutionary spirit of the masses of the people has been brought into full play and the leadership of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat have been consolidated and strengthened. This great cultural revolution will ensure the triumphant advance of the Chinese people along the road of socialism and communism.

The unprecedented great revolutionary change now taking place in China, which accounts for a quarter of the world's population, will inevitably have an immeasurably profound world-wide bearing on the history of mankind.

(*"Hsinhua News Agency," June 11.*)

Mao Tse-tung's Thought — Beacon of Revolution For the World's People

The Chinese press continues to give prominence to reports, features and statements showing the boundless love of the world's people for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his works, their high admiration for the mass movement of the Chinese people to study Mao Tse-tung's thought, and their earnest desire to grasp this great thought and apply it to their own revolutionary struggles. Following are some of the items recently carried in the press. — P.R. Ed.

ITALY: Mao Tse-tung Is the Greatest Marxist-Leninist Theoretician Today

The Italian periodical *Orientamenti* in an article entitled "On Mao Tse-tung's Works" in its inaugural issue in May pointed out that Mao Tse-tung is "the greatest Marxist-Leninist theoretician" today.

"If we say Lenin's thought embodies the stage of development of Marxism in the period of World War I and the first socialist revolution and Stalin's thought embodies the stage of the development of Leninism in the period of building socialism in a single country and the anti-fascist World War II, then Mao Tse-tung's thought embodies the stage of development of Marxism-Leninism in the period of the socialist revolution in the biggest country in Asia and widespread anti-

imperialist struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America," it said.

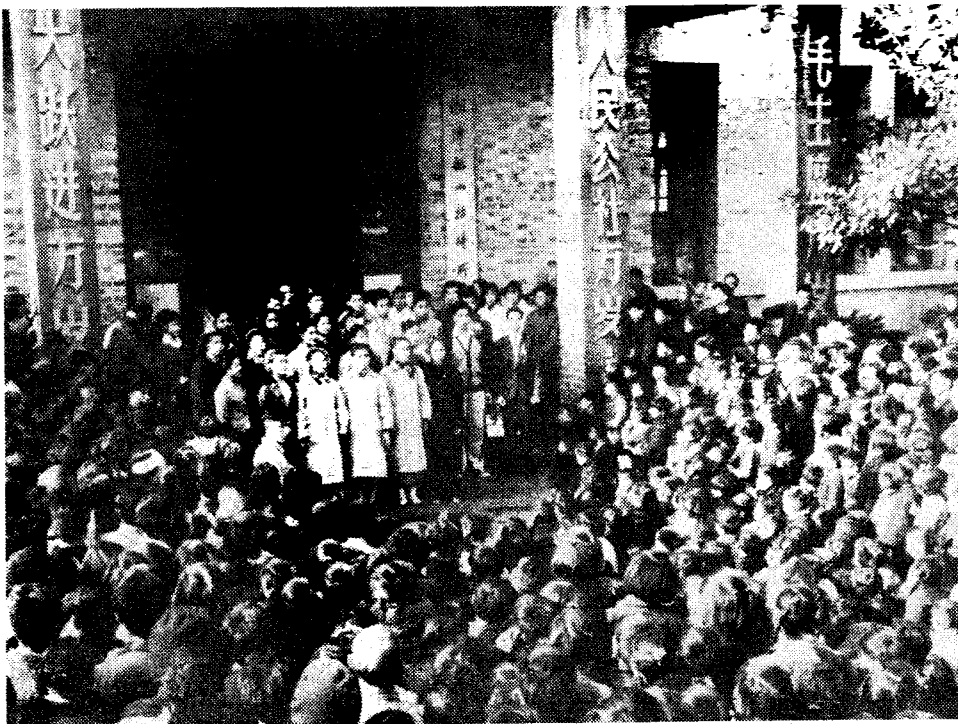
The article went on to point out that in handling and solving questions of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung "takes Marxist-Leninist principles as the great guide."

"Today, the peoples subjected to imperialist oppression take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the best guide," it stressed. "Mao Tse-tung's thought today is the political wealth of the world's most populous country and millions upon millions of other people who are loyal to his teachings and courageously support Mao Tse-tung's thought in everyday struggles."

The article said in conclusion: "In the present period when the revisionist leaders create serious confusion in the international communist movement, to treasure and support Mao Tse-tung's thought and the political line of the Chinese Party and state leaders is to safeguard and revive the revolutionary line of Marx and Lenin. This gives new impetus to the struggle for socialism. This is a matter which has a direct bearing on the proletariat in different countries, the proletariat in Europe in particular." "Therefore, the study of Mao Tse-tung's teachings is indispensable."

LAOS: What Chairman Mao Wrote Is Truth

People in the liberated areas of Laos treasure Chairman Mao Tse-tung's writings very much and have deep respect for the great leader of the Chinese people.



A visiting troupe of Neo Lao Haksat from Laos sings at Shaoshan, Chairman Mao's birthplace

They have said that what Chairman Mao wrote is truth and that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the beacon light for the people of the world in their advance.

One of the leading members of the Xieng Khouang Provincial Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat said: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is truth that guides the oppressed nations and people in their struggle. His writings warm one's heart and enlighten one's mind. Every sentence Chairman Mao said glows with the brilliance of truth. The more I read, the more I want to read; I've never read such fine works before."

The commander of the Xieng Khouang District Command of the Laotian People's Liberation Army told Hsinhua: "I love most to read Chairman Mao's *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan* and the article, *Long Live the Victory of People's War!* which embodies Mao Tse-tung's thought. The two articles are of practical importance for our current revolutionary struggle. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's concept of people's war considerably heightens our confidence in defeating U.S. imperialism." "Chairman Mao's works meet our need as if he wrote for us. When questions are unclear in our minds, we turn to his works for an answer. We study his works with our particular problems in mind."

Commenting on Mao Tse-tung's *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong* which he had studied, the commander of an anti-aircraft unit in the advance positions on Mount Phou Khouth said: "Chairman Mao pointed out 20 years ago that all reactionaries are paper tigers; this brilliant judgment is absolutely right."

Pointing at the mountain, he said to a Hsinhua correspondent: "Look, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have poured thousands of tons of bombs and artillery shells on to this mountain and made it two metres lower. Yet it still towers here in the hands of our heroic people. Does not this prove that man is the primary factor, as Chairman Mao said? Is it not true that the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not weapons?"

SYRIA: Chairman Mao's Works Are Immortal

Mao Tse-tung's works not only belong to the Chinese people and guide their revolution, but also belong to other peoples who are seeking in these writings the way to liberation, said Abdul Rahman Aboukoss, Syrian Secretary of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.

Speaking to a Hsinhua correspondent in Peking of his impressions of the first volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, he said: "Mao Tse-tung's works are great writings which awaken the political consciousness of the readers, rightly guide them to consider and examine their practice, and thereby discover the correct solutions."

He added: "Works that reach such a level are immortal indeed." He went on to say that like the sun, Mao Tse-tung's writings called on the readers to work and urged them to struggle. They unmasked all schemes for compromise, concessions, capitulation and "peaceful coexistence." They inspired the readers to wage armed revolutionary struggle. "Without armed struggle, we cannot prevail over our enemy," he stressed.

PALESTINE: The Chinese People Armed With Chairman Mao's Thought Stand Firm In Support of the World Revolution

"Under the correct guidance of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have achieved successes in every field," said Mahmoud Abu Asteit, executive member of the Gaza Federation of the Palestine Trade Unions, who visited China a month ago.

Asteit in an interview with a Hsinhua correspondent said that the efforts of the Chinese people to defeat U.S. imperialism had raised them to a level where they had successfully carried out nuclear explosions. "These explosions are heard with cheers by the people of the world and dealt a telling blow at imperialism."

But, he continued, the spiritual atom bomb—the determined will of the Chinese people—was more powerful than the atom bomb itself. In the Museum of the Chinese Revolution in Peking, he saw how Chairman Mao and his comrades with primitive weapons had defeated their well-armed enemies.

Asteit pointed out that the Chinese people loved their leader Chairman Mao very much, and that, armed with Chairman Mao's thought, the Chinese workers and the members of the people's communes were working hard, the soldiers were vigilant with weapons ready, and everybody was firmly supporting the world revolution.

ALGERIA: Mao Tse-tung Is the Guide for World Revolution

"We regard Mao Tse-tung as a great statesman. There should be a guide for the world revolution, and Mao Tse-tung is the guide now, because his works, his theories conform not only to the practice of the Chinese revolution, but also to that of the world proletarian revolution," said Medjaher Abdel-Kader, leader of the delegation of the General Union of the Algerian Workers which recently visited China and attended the May Day celebrations in Peking.

In an interview with Hsinhua, he pointed out that Chairman Mao's theory of the encirclement of the cities from the countryside had a particularly important significance. This theory was of a fundamental nature and conformed not only to the practice of the Chinese revolution then, but also to the practice of the world revolution now, because, taking the world today, the big

In Praise of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Camara Djibril, assistant stage supervisor of the Guinean National Dance Troupe "Djoliba"

Chairman Mao is leading not only the Chinese people in revolution but the people of all countries. He is the great leader and teacher of the Chinese people and all peoples who are fighting against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and against old and new colonialism.

Ramaqele Tsinyane, Representative of the Basutoland Congress Party in Cairo

The real guiding light for the rapid development of socialist construction in the People's Republic of China is Mao Tse-tung's thought which all workers, peasants and other sections of the Chinese people are eagerly studying and applying in their work.

R.G. Silva, Committee Member of the Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation, and H.P. Dhanapala, Committee Member of the Independent Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Ceylon

Mao Tse-tung's ideas are urgently needed weapons for the Asian-African peoples who are fighting for freedom and liberation. From these ideas they can derive revolutionary instruction and a clear-cut objective of struggle. If all the oppressed peoples of the world follow the instructions given in Mao Tse-tung's works and wage arduous struggles, they can win national independence and freedom and make their countries prosperous and powerful.

Maiso Mizuhara, Director-General of the Japanese Philatelic Association

It has become a daily habit of the Chinese people to study Chairman Mao's works. Armed with the sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people are invincible. One of the important contents of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought is to serve the people. This idea can really bring happiness to the people. Today, the Chinese people have shown by deed in every aspect the noble quality of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self" and of "doing everything for the revolution."

city was the United States, and the broad rural areas were revolutionary Asia, Africa and Latin America.

TANZANIA: We Are Impressed Very Much By the Devotion of Chinese People to Chairman Mao's Works

Joseph Clemence Rwegasira, head of the delegation of the National Union of Tanganyika Workers which visited China recently said to Hsinhua, "All Chinese people, old and young, are very keen on studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works." "We are impressed very much by their political consciousness, and their devotion to the works of their leader, Chairman Mao."

The Chinese people were studying Chairman Mao's works with great enthusiasm. Although the Chinese people had gained big achievements under Chairman Mao's teaching of uninterrupted revolution, they were preparing for even greater achievements, he added.

AZANIA: Chairman Mao's Thought Is an Inexhaustible Source of Inspiration to Oppressed People

A.B. Ngcobo, General Treasurer, and Peter Raboroko, Secretary for Education, of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), in a joint statement issued to Hsinhua, said that Chairman Mao's thought was an inexhaustible source of inspiration to oppressed people.

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought is a significant contribution to the literature of struggle for the liberation of mankind and an invaluable asset to all freedom fighters," the statement said. "It is clear and incisive and in the hands of those willing and able to wield it effectively, it serves as a powerful weapon against oppression and oppressors."

CANADA: Chairman Mao, a Second Lenin

Alfred Bingham, a member of the delegation from the Canada-China Friendship Association, in a recent interview with Hsinhua in Canton, said that "Chairman Mao is a great revolutionary leader, a second Lenin."

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism in all respects. His thought is a lighthouse guiding the revolution in China and the whole world," he added. "The people all over the world like to read Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works. They take them as the truth."

The Canadian guest said that Chairman Mao Tse-tung's writings, simple in language but deep in meaning were easier for the working people to understand. Alfred Bingham stated that the Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, had high political consciousness. They were working hard for the common good and not for selfish interests. They were moving forward in the same direction and concentrating on revolution. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, there was nothing the Chinese people could not do.

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Creatively Study And Apply Mao Tse-tung's Philosophical Thinking

— Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites

This is the last instalment of selections from "One Hundred Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites" originally published in the philosophical magazine *Zhexue Yanjiu* (No. 2, 1966). The 100 examples were taken from essays written by workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres in the course of their creative study and application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's philosophical thinking. They appeared in *Zhexue Yanjiu* in 12 groups, each with a group subhead and an editor's note. The following three examples are taken from two groups together with the original group subheads and editor's notes. The first four instalments appeared in *Peking Review* Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24. — Ed.

The Victory of the New Over the Old Is an Eternal And Inviolable Law

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Each thing contains the two aspects of affirmation and negation. The struggle between these opposites constantly pushing the thing forward to its opposite, signifies supersession of the old by the new, that is, the dying out of the old and the birth of the new. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "In each thing there is contradiction between its new and its old aspects, and this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect changes from being minor to being major and rises to predominance, while the old aspect changes from being minor to being major and gradually dies out. And the moment the new aspect gains dominance over the old, the old thing changes qualitatively into a new thing." That is to say, the victory of the new over the old is inevitable and supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe.*

Armed with the dialectical thinking of Chairman Mao, the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres hold that "there is no end to the revolution and no ceiling to production." Taking each "ceiling" as a "starting point," they advance continuously. Materialist dialectics teaches us that we never take an ordinary midway point in our march as the final objective of our advance.

No End to Revolution and No Ceiling To Production

IT is common knowledge that, like revolution in other fields, it is difficult in the beginning to carry out the revolution of production and it is still more difficult to keep that revolution going. It is difficult at the start because people lack confidence and practical experience and therefore hesitate to act. Then once they get going and especially after they have achieved some success in their work, they invariably come up against new "hurdles," not simple difficulties of one kind or another, but all kinds of incorrect ideas which emerge alongside successes. For example, in those years when we started the work of transforming our poor mountain slopes and gullies, we came up against

certain difficulties and ideological problems. These latter, however, were rather simple and could be summed up as merely a question of whether or not we could succeed. As the poor and lower-middle peasants said: Let us get the work started. There is nothing to fear. At the most, we'll waste a few labour days on it. We'll lose no houses or land. However, various kinds of ideological problems cropped up later as we won one victory after another in transforming our poor mountain slopes and gullies, and as radical changes were brought about on our farmland and the livelihood of our people was bettered. By 1958, we had achieved a big increase in the yield of food grains (we harvested more than 540 jin per mu) and with this some commune members raised excessive demands for better personal living conditions and also voiced the idea that

there was no more room for the further development of production. Some people said, "As we have achieved a big crop of 400-500 *jin* per *mu*, what's important now is to keep yields stabilized at that level." Some said, "A per *mu* yield of over 500 *jin* is no simple matter, can you raise crops that touch and split the skies?" The question whether one is to keep up the advance or lay off for a rest is a touchstone determining whether one is a true or sham revolutionary. After the autumn harvest each year, we paid attention to current ideological tendencies; we carried on education in the need for uninterrupted revolution, and criticized the idea that there was no room for the further growth of production.

Every year new methods are required to carry forward the revolution in production, to lead the people forward continuously. Ever since the farm co-operative movement, we had gone in for deep ploughing; this meant doubling the depth of top soil on our cultivated land from 10 to 20 cm. With deeper top soil, the crops naturally grew well, and it seemed quite all right in the light of the method of cultivation we used at that time. But in 1958, we proposed deep-hoeing in cultivating maize, and turning of hardened soil into "sponge soil" by loosening the soil to a depth of one or more feet so that loss of water would be blocked. That year the land so hoed gave an extra crop of more than 200 *jin*. This shows that there is a long way to go before reaching maximum output.

The success achieved with deep ploughing and deep hoeing led us to the study of deep sowing. An experiment made in 1959 proved that deep sowing is indeed effective. In this way we devised another new set of methods known as "deep ploughing, deep hoeing and deep sowing," which for our Tachai brigade has become a magic weapon of raising bigger crops.

Now that we have turned the seven gullies into fertile land and the mountain slopes into terraced fields, we have raised yields from less than 140 *jin* per *mu* to more than 800 *jin*. But can we bring about further transformations and get still higher yields? Certainly we can. Up to the present, our Tachai brigade has got not one single *mu* of real irrigated land. But water conservancy is the life-blood of agriculture; without the development of water conservancy, the development of agriculture is out of the question. One year's drought can be handled but if this natural calamity persists for two or even three years, what then should we do? We have worked out a preliminary plan for each one of us to pledge to develop one *mu* of irrigated land in the coming three years. By turning our land into irrigated land we can go from one crop to two crops a year and so get even higher outputs.

Since 1963, we have given great attention to afforestation and have had some successes. We are determined to exploit these successes for a further advance in afforesting our stony, barren hills in the next three years.

At present, we are paying special attention to basic construction on our farm land. We are ensuring that each of us terrace one *mu* of Tachai land to a higher standard.

There is no end to the revolution and no ceiling to production. The idea that there is no room for the further development of production actually reflects the view that the revolution has come to an end. (By Chen Yung-kuei, Party Branch Secretary of Tachai Production Brigade, Tachai People's Commune, Hsiyang County, Shansi Province. Originally published in *Minzu Tuanjie*, [National Unity], No. 1, 1966, as "Some Questions About How to Deal With Natural Conditions.")

Propagate the Dialectics Inherent in Things, and So Accelerate The Transformation of Things and Achieve the Goal of Revolution

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Contradictions are resolved through struggle. Under given conditions and as a result of the struggle between them, the two aspects of a contradiction invariably turn into their opposites. Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us that "the task of Communists is to expose the fallacies of the reactionaries and metaphysicians, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, and so accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution."*

Following Chairman Mao's teachings, workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres have made practical use of materialist dialectics in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment to overcome many difficulties, turn adverse conditions into favourable conditions, passivity into initiative, a short fall into a bumper harvest, the backward into the advanced, bad things into good things, and failure into success, thus advancing from victory to victory.

Turning Ignorance Into Knowledge

IN October 1963, we were entrusted with a job of galvanizing. High quality was required of the products, but our factory lacked suitable equipment. To

overcome this difficulty, our leadership entrusted certain experiments to me and a number of other comrades. We, bench and foundry workers, and technicians who came from among the workers, were all novices in the technique of galvanizing. Yet, we

thought, provided we learnt conscientiously from our brother plants in the trade, we could certainly lift ourselves from ignorance to knowledge. That agreed, I went together with other comrades to the electroplating workshop of a brother factory to work there with them. During the day we learnt what we could from them conscientiously while working with them. In the evenings we got out our books and studied hard getting some book knowledge. At the same time, in order really to master the needed technique and gain some practical experience, we also conducted experiments back in our own factory. If our experiments failed, we went back to study again with definite problems in mind and did further experiments at home. In three months we went in this way some 50 times to that factory, sometimes going three times a day. Our conscientious studies and their enthusiastic assistance enabled us to grasp the basic technical know-how of galvanizing. Thus, we made a switch from knowing nothing to knowing something.

We next made experiments designed to produce goods of the technical standards demanded. But as the products we worked with were of different shapes and materials, and the demand was for high quality throughout, though we brought to bear all the experience we had learnt from our brother factory and the dozen or so formulas we had learnt from books on the mixture of materials, we failed to discover how to meet the required technical standards. In consequence, in the face of new things, under new circumstances, we again became ignorant though previously we had indeed acquired some knowledge. Over a period of three months and five days, summing up the lessons of our failures in some 50 previous experiments, we continued to explore, make experiments and do research. Finally with our 73rd experiment we were successful in creating a new set of technological processes which produced galvanized goods that were all up to standard.

This success has helped me understand that if we do not understand a new technique this is only natural, but provided we follow Chairman Mao's teachings, practise again and again and constantly sum up experience and lessons, we will be able to change ourselves from being ignorant to having knowledge. Our success in galvanizing represents a process of transformation through practice, from being ignorant to having knowledge, a process of continuously deepening knowledge. (By Cheng Chao-yu, bench worker of the Jilian Machinery Plant in Harbin. Originally published in "Hongqi" No. 10, 1965 as "Learn to Apply Materialist Dialectics in Technical Innovations.")

Drought—A Bad Thing—Impels Us to Revolutionize Production

DROUGHT is indeed a bad thing for our wheat growing. However, under certain conditions, bad things can be turned into good things. Take the ex-

perience of our production team for instance. Our low-lying land is subject to flood and more often than not the crops there fail. This evil impels us to revolutionize production. In the winter of 1964 and spring of 1965, we mustered up our efforts to turn this 260 *mu* of land into raised fields—strips of lands criss-crossed by deep ditches—and now we can thumb our noses at flood. People here were used to flood, but last summer there was a drought. Our people had no experience of fighting drought, and, of course, had no facilities for combating it. So we were compelled to acquire the ability to fight drought. We sank 63 simple, unlined wells and got a record harvest. Isn't this a case of a bad thing being turned into a good thing?

Right now, this drought is still going on, and this makes difficulties in sowing the wheat crop. I think this bad thing can also be turned into a good thing. It compels us to build up fields that ensure high and stable yields. After taking measures against the drought and finishing the wheat sowing, we plan to brick line existing wells and dig a system of irrigation channels based on the wells so as to secure our area against both drought and flood. This will bring about a fundamental change in the condition where our fields used to fail to give crops because of either drought or flood. If we had not been forced to take action by these bad things, we would not have had such a firm resolve.

A bad thing cannot automatically change itself into a good thing. Such a transformation demands a certain condition. What is it? It is the firm resolve to fight against natural calamities. Without that resolve, bad things cannot be turned into good things. Take the drought which occurred before this autumn, if we had bowed before that drought and waited for the rain from Heaven, we would not have sunk those wells yet! Even if the wells had been sunk, if we had waited for a supply of machines to irrigate the land and rejected the use of windlasses, shoulderpoles and buckets to do that hard job, the drought would not have been beaten. To turn bad things into good things, we cadres and commune members must have the revolutionary drive shown by the "Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." This is how I understand it. If we had lacked that revolutionary enthusiasm and just waited for the rain from Heaven, we would never have gathered the bumper harvest this year. Drought still exists, so we will have to continue our efforts. I am confident that so long as we persist in the struggle, we will be able to bring about a radical change in the situation in which farm production is affected by both drought and flood. (By Sun Hsiao-yu, leader of No. 3 Production Team, Chaili Production Brigade, Tinghsien County, Hopei Province. Originally published in "Hebei Ribao" [Hopei Daily], September 19, 1965, as "Talks on Experience in Combating Drought.")



(End of series.)

Relying on "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" To Make a Chinese-Type Frequency Clock

by FANG FU-KEN

USING the great Mao Tse-tung's thought as our weapon, we succeeded in making China's first frequency clock after working hard for a year and more. Compared with foreign-made clocks of this kind, it is much simpler and more rational in construction, much more convenient to manufacture and use, and much cheaper to make. Moreover, its accuracy is up to the most advanced level. This is a frequency clock of a specifically Chinese type.

Before we started on the job we did not know what a frequency clock was; we'd never even heard the name. I was an apprentice in a pen-nib factory. Though I had studied two years in secondary technical school, I did not learn clock-making. There were several other comrades some of whom had studied how to make watches and clocks, but none of them had seen a frequency clock either. What is a frequency clock? It is used not only for ordinary timing, but also as an indispensable precision meter for a power station to measure the frequency of its electric current. A much greater degree of accuracy is demanded of it than from ordinary watches and clocks. Ordinarily a best quality watch or clock may gain or lose 10 seconds or more in every 24 hours, but the daily deviation permitted a frequency clock cannot exceed one second. It was all by relying on Chairman Mao's writings, *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, that we were able to make a frequency clock. These two works armed our minds, helped us topple blind faith in bourgeois "authorities" and "specialists" and "foreign books," and gave us the sharp weapon for knowing and transforming the objective world.

We accepted this task in the spring of 1964.

We heard that the power bureau had a frequency clock made in the United States in the 1920s. We all said: "Better first take a look at that before we make our plans!" But it gave us little except a surprise. It was kept in an instrument room at a constant temperature and attended by a veteran worker all the year round. It was never opened up unless for checking, because it could not stand the slightest vibration or any dust.

I approached the clock and looked at it through its glass door. Its gears were badly worn down and much

The author is a worker-technician holding the titles of Outstanding Worker and Red-Banner Young Shock Worker of Shanghai.

of the chrome had fallen off. It was older than I was. We young technicians studying watches and clocks felt it would really be a shame if we continued to use such a crude piece and could not replace it with a Chinese-made frequency clock. A big Chinese-built hydro-electric power station, we heard, was totally equipped by us except for one thing—an imported frequency clock. No matter what, we felt, we must fill in this gap! Today, we are the great Chinese workers and proletarian fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, why couldn't we catch up with and surpass the Western bourgeoisie in the skills of clock-making? We all shared the same aspiration: no matter what we must make a better frequency clock in our own way!

Our Party branch pointed out to us that the trial manufacture of a frequency clock was an important political task and that we should turn the process of trial manufacture into a process of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. The education given us by the Party further enhanced our confidence in trial manufacturing the frequency clock.

Having Firm Confidence in Chairman Mao's Teachings, Taking Our Own Road

But, what kind of frequency clock did we really want to make? Opinions differed and there was no lack of conflicting ideas among us.

Some engineers, with blind faith in the science and technology of certain other countries, could never get away from the idea that we could only rely on the "foreign stick" to walk on. They said: "Since the time allotted to the job is so short and since we are not so sure of things, it is better to refer to a foreign model." But what they meant by "referring" was actually "to copy" a foreign model.

Studying the matter, we went on one occasion to Anhwei Province to inspect a frequency clock imported several years ago. It was a complex affair with a great many gears, parts and an intricate web of wires. Yet it failed to work smoothly, breaking down from time to time, like a person suffering from some chronic disease. When we arrived, we found it in a state of relapse and the comrades there were having difficulties putting it back into working order. This showed how the revisionists tried to bully us, but the strange thing was that some people still considered that clock to be such a wonderful thing and thought that we ought to pattern everything on it—its construction, parts, and even its wooden casing and screws.

Such an attitude made some of us indignant. How ridiculous that they should think we Chinese didn't even know how to make the screws but had to copy them from others! Chairman Mao has taught us: In learning from others, it is necessary "to use our heads and learn those things which suit conditions in our country, that is, to absorb whatever experience is useful to us. This is the attitude we should adopt." The attitude of blind worship of foreign stereotypes adopted by certain "specialists" and "authorities" simply dampened our own revolutionary spirits and inflated the arrogance of the bourgeoisie! We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings in real earnest, learn through practice, and be daring in making new things and learning from others with a revolutionary and critical attitude. Some comrades, however, thought that such an approach showed a lack of a serious attitude, exacting demands and a highly scientific method. I had my reservations. I just could not agree that we lacked a serious attitude, exacting demands and a highly scientific method in following Chairman Mao's advice to test everything out in practice and to base our conclusions on practice, and that those who copied everything from other countries were the opposite.

Reasoning this way, I put forward my own plan for the design. Then the so-called "authorities" asked me: "Is it based on any theory?" I said no, but added that theory would come out of practice. Their non-recognition led to the vetoing of my plan.

They spent several months making a frequency clock which was an exact copy of an imported model. Final tests showed that it lost or gained more than ten seconds a day, falling far short of the advanced world level of a permitted deviation of one second. Still those "authorities" refused to draw a lesson from this failure. Instead they attributed their failure to imperfections in "copying." So they started all over again, checking every part to make it exactly the same as the model. But what was the result? They found that the second copy still gained or lost five or six seconds in 24 hours.

All this served as a teacher by negative example. I became all the more convinced that blind faith in bourgeois "specialists" and "authorities" could only lead to a dead end whereas following Chairman Mao's words would lead me on to a broad open road. I became firmer in my determination: To do as Chairman Mao has taught us, be daring in practice, discard all stereotypes, be bold in challenging the bourgeois "authorities," and forge ahead unswervingly along our own road in developing technology.

Practice Is the Best School

But how to open up a road of China's own?

I turned again to Chairman Mao's *On Practice*. Chairman Mao says: "How can you catch tiger cubs without entering the tiger's lair?" To know a thing, the fundamental way is through practice. As regards myself, I was no good at theory and even worse off as

to experience. There was only one way open to me: I must enter the "tiger's lair." So I decided to take an honest attitude and go ahead in practice, learning in the course of it. I would try out in practice all the various methods of other people and compare them, discovering their respective merits and shortcomings. In actually doing the work, I would get a thorough understanding of the relationship between the various parts of the frequency clock and the principles of how they work.

In this trial period, we made many experiments to solve the problem of the energy replenishing device. This is a most important part of the frequency clock. If we compare the pendulum to a soldier on a long march, this device can be compared to an "army canteen" which follows the soldiers on the march. The pendulum works unceasingly and accurately only when energy is supplied well and at the right time. The many types of foreign-made frequency clocks furnish many examples of how this "canteen" works. What is the best type and the one that suits our conditions?

We heard at that time that there was a most advanced timing method. But use of this method requires that the frequency clock be completely isolated from outside disturbances. To solve this contradiction, the clock has to be kept in a specially constructed underground room. I thought then: the spirit of our general line for socialist construction is to do things in a way that brings greater, faster, better and more economical results, and we should uphold this spirit. Can we supply our hydro-power stations with such delicate clocks? No, definitely not! This method is out of the question.

So we tried out the other methods one by one. After three months or more and dozens of experiments, although we still did not find a method entirely suited to our purpose, we had not wasted our time either. For by comparing the various methods that we tried out, we were able to get an over-all picture of each one's good and bad points. This enabled us to concentrate the good points in the new energy replenishing device that we designed on the basis of our needs. It worked very well. The clock did not have to be kept in an underground room, and the device could supply the energy at any time according to the needs of the pendulum.

To grasp the working principles of each part of the clock, I made minute examination of various phenomena. One night, I was studying the amplitude of the pendulum's swing when I discovered from the light refracted from the swinging pendulum that, after making its oscillations a few dozen times, the pendulum suddenly made a slight, almost imperceptible backwards and forwards motion. Was this accidental? But it was already deep in the night, and absolutely still all around, so no outside factor could have influenced it. If it was a regular thing, we had never observed it before. I decided to get to the bottom of this suspicious phenomenon.

This backwards and forwards motion was at most 0.3 second each time, so it was very tiring to watch and my eyes were soon aching. But in order to get first-hand material, I kept to my purpose steadily day in and day out. Those happened to be the hottest days in the year. The room where I worked was a small chamber built of concrete, only three by three metres square, originally used for storing blocks of ice. It had no windows, and one could not use an electric fan as even a breath of wind would affect the accuracy of the pendulum's swing. It was hot and stifling, and working there, one soon got drenched with sweat. But I persevered for one month, then two, and then three . . . and finally discovered the reasons. Once these were found, the contradiction was quickly solved.

Chairman Mao says: "Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare . . . it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning." Through a period of practice, I finally succeeded in gaining an all-round and deeper knowledge of the laws of the frequency clock. I became more convinced than ever that practice is the best school. We can enhance our ability to know the objective world only through practice; and only through practice can we learn and gain the ability to transform the objective world.

Daring to Challenge All the "Authorities"

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The movement of change in the world of objective reality is never-ending and so is man's cognition of truth through practice." The experience of others is not fixed and immutable; we are not only able to but we are duty bound to enrich and improve on their experience. The experience of others contains much that is valuable as well as dross. Only by breaking with the old concepts can we understand and create new things; only by breaking with conventions, daring to challenge all the "authorities," can we develop new techniques and strike out along our own path.

During the trial manufacture, we concentrated our efforts on solving the problem of the relationship between the pendulum and the gears. Ever since pendulum clocks were invented several hundred years ago, the pendulum has always been connected to the gears, but very few people suspected that this could be a source of trouble. After scores of analyses of frequency clocks and experiments I found that the problem lay precisely in the formulation that the pendulum activates the gears. If anything goes wrong within the complicated mechanism, it will increase the burden on the pendulum through the gears. This pendulum activating the gears is very much like a person carrying a heavy load, and trouble is bound to arise.

Early one morning I saw several long-distance runners, dressed only in singlets and shorts, racing effortlessly along the road. I said to myself: Why don't we think of a way to unburden the pendulum just as those runners have shed their coats and other clothes? Pur-

suing this line of thought, I discovered a very simple and very easy-to-overlook truth: the pendulum keeps the time, each oscillation of the pendulum, the tick and tock, marks two seconds. The gears follow the pendulum, their function being to record each swing. The pendulum and the gears are closely linked, but are two different things. I had a bold idea: separate the two, the pendulum from the gears, and let the signals transmitted from the pendulum activate the gears and record the oscillations by means of electricity.

To get their views I told the others about this idea. Some told me: "This can be tried out, but if this path leads anywhere, others would have been sure to have gone down it long ago." If others have not explored this path, I said to myself, that does not prove that it is a blind alley. If others had not gone down it, that made it all the more necessary for me to explore it. Everything must be tested in practice. So following this line of thought, I started my experiments. Things looked promising. After 24 hours, a deviation of only 0.5 second was registered. But at the same time a thorny new problem appeared: the clock sometimes stopped. We all put our heads together to solve it as we used to do when difficulties arose. Many young workers and technicians gave us their enthusiastic support and came up with a number of ideas. Those who had "experience" with clocks, however, had their doubts and said: "Never heard of a pendulum clock with gears actuated by electricity. Electricity is not a reliable thing. . . ."

We carefully analysed the various views expressed. We had narrowed the deviation from 5-6 seconds down to half a second. This showed that we were on the right track. Why it sometimes faltered was because we had not yet fully grasped the laws governing the application of electricity to activate the gears. Chairman Mao tells us: "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level." At the present time, our control over electricity is being strengthened and the material conditions for using electricity are also developing. If we pressed on courageously with our experiments, the problem was sure to be solved.

So we made further observations, analyses and experiments until we finally found the answer. The clock stopped not because we used electricity, but because of flaws in some parts of the mechanism which affected the flow of current. We introduced several improvements and the current flowed freely, the movement of the frequency clock became more regular, loss or gain in time was confined to under one second in 24 hours.

In the trial manufacture of this clock, we also discovered that some formulae and laws were not without faults and inaccuracies. In a book about the mechanism of clocks, there was a formula worked out by a foreign scientist for calculating the size, position and weight of the pendulum. This formula had been employed in

making clocks for the past ten years or so. I myself used it in making the pendulum for our clock, but although it worked out all right in calculations it did not work out in practice. Who was at fault, the formula or I? At first I thought that we must be but after checking and rechecking our calculations I found that they were not in error.

Then we made several experiments with different materials and found that it was the formula which was at fault. It failed to take into consideration the important factor of what sort of material is used. Actually, the composition of the material used makes quite a big difference to the result. Pendulums of the same size, but of materials of different compositions were used in trials and we got a wide range of variations in their movements. Finally, I threw away the formula which "was theoretically so correct but gave such different results in practice," and did experiments according to the concrete situation. Thus we worked out the correct size, position and weight of the pendulum for our clock.

In the course of this brief practice, it was deeply impressed upon me that only by steadfastly maintaining a revolutionary and critical spirit can old concepts be demolished and new ones created, and inventions and progress be made. Those who believe that laws and principles in foreign books cannot be challenged are looking at things from the metaphysical point of view and not according to the law of the development of things. Mankind develops, nature develops, so man's cognition of the objective world must also develop. Traditional concepts of techniques, formulae and laws in books were all arrived at by others under certain conditions, but only by arming ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and reappraising conclusions and formulae can we bring about new developments and creations in technology.

Chinese-Type Frequency Clock — Product of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

With the principle of construction changed as a result of separation of the pendulum from the gears, and with several parts of the clock eliminated, the make-up of our frequency clock is much simpler than that of foreign ones. Some people expressed the doubt: "Since the frequency clock is a high precision mechanism, can quality be ensured now that you have simplified it like this?" This is again a conventional notion that only complicated things are precise. In fact, some of those complicated frequency clocks are not highly efficient. Take that imported frequency clock which the revisionists purposely used to humbug us with, for instance. It is very complicated in construction. As a result, negative factors emerge. It has more gears and parts, all of them linked with each other and this increases the burden on the pendulum, and adds to the trouble in use and maintenance. This is just as a Chinese proverb says: "It adds nothing to the success, but brings something to the failure."

The law of development of things is from simple to complex and from complex to simple on a new level. The first time-measuring device in the world is the sundial, and then the clepsydra develops. Later on when gears and springs are invented, and are linked up with the pendulum, the structure of a clock becomes complicated. Yet today, isn't there the electronic clock which has done away with the spring and the pendulum?

China is a great socialist country. We have the guidance of the great Mao Tse-tung's thought. All Chinese products should be produced from the standpoint of convenience in making and using. They must be at once precise and simple in the highest degree. Nowadays we should be able to know things and to create new things in accordance with the inherent law of development of things. I have studied and compared all types of foreign frequency clocks made since 1922 to some time around 1958. Their common characteristic is complexity in construction. This has something to do with the then scientific and technological level, with the social system. Not only is the structure of those frequency clocks made in capitalist or revisionist countries complex, but there are also some stereotyped complicated parts which scare people but are actually unnecessary. These are the products of their rotten ideology. In our frequency clock, there are no parts like this. In trial producing our frequency clock, we felt deeply that the creation of advanced products needs first of all advanced ideas, the revolutionization of ideology; and the revolutionization of ideology depends on putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in command.

In tune with China's reality, to produce a simpler and more rational frequency clock, one that can be made, used and maintained in a more convenient way, my worker colleagues and I with the support of the Party organization have made further experiments. In over 40 "operations," we have eliminated nearly half of the main parts of our frequency clock, and in machining the technical requirements over half of its parts have been lowered. Thus, the construction of our Chinese frequency clock is even simpler than that of an ordinary clock. Its accuracy has been greatly raised and stands at the most advanced level. It can be made from Chinese materials now available and made in ordinary clock plants.

Under the Party's leadership, and by the joint efforts of all the comrades concerned, and with the enthusiastic collaboration of brother departments, the first Chinese-style frequency clock finally came into being in September 1965.

The success of the trial production of the frequency clock is a victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, is a product of *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*. We have produced our Chinese-style frequency clock, but there are even more Chinese-style things waiting to be produced. We must more consciously study Chairman Mao's works, further reform our subjective world and understand as well as transform the objective world better with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Counter-Revolutionary Criminal Sentenced to Death

Editor's Note: At a special public meeting in Peking on June 13, the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China pronounced the death sentence on Yang Kuo-ching, a counter-revolutionary criminal who had stabbed two foreign friends with a kitchen knife. Immediately after the sentence, the criminal was taken out and shot.

The two foreign friends who were stabbed were Bakary Traore, head of the Malian journalists' delegation to the Fourth Plenary Session of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, and the wife of First Secretary Mahlow of the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic in Peking. As a result of prompt first aid and medical treatment, both have recovered.

More than 13,000 people from all walks of life attended the meeting. Kalsoum Senenta, Counsellor of the Malian Embassy, and Helmut Liebermann, Counsellor of the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, and Bruno Mahlow, First Secretary of the G.D.R. Embassy, and husband of one of the wounded, were present.

The 19-year-old counter-revolutionary Yang Kuo-ching came from the family of a despotic landlord. Before liberation, his father murdered six people, among them revolutionary cadres. He was executed in 1953 according to sentence passed by a people's court. Despite his father's crimes, the People's Government arranged for Yang Kuo-ching's work and studies. However, he still clung to his father's reactionary stand, nourished intense class hatred against the Party, the Government and the people. In July 1965, Yang Kuo-ching and three other counter-revolutionaries formed a small group to plot counter-revolutionary activities. Due punishment was meted out to each of them when their crimes were exposed. Because he confessed to his crimes and in view of his youth, Yang Kuo-ching was dealt with leniently by the Government. However, he

refused to turn over a new leaf but contemplated the murder of members of diplomatic missions and other foreign friends in China in an attempt to create an international murder case, provoke an international dispute and spoil China's international good name.

To attain this criminal aim, Yang Kuo-ching sneaked into the Friendship Department Store in Peking on April 29 and first knifed Bakary Traore in the neck and then stabbed the wife of the G.D.R. Embassy's First Secretary in the face. He then tried to escape, but was promptly caught by people outside the store.

Owing to the exceptionally serious nature of the case, the Supreme People's Procuratorate brought the case before the Supreme People's Court for public prosecution after investigation by the public security organs. After hearings and investigations, the Supreme People's Court was convinced that the lethal weapon used, the statements by the two wounded persons and the testimony of eye-witnesses constituted conclusive evidence of the crime which the criminal himself fully admitted.

The masses of the people have voiced great indignation at the crime of this incorrigible counter-revolutionary and demanded that severe punishment be meted out. In pursuance of the regulations of the People's Republic of China for the punishment of counter-revolutionaries, the Supreme People's Court passed the death penalty on Yang Kuo-ching.

Representatives of workers, peasants, students, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, government workers and others who took part in the meeting shouted slogans resolutely supporting the verdict and demanding the complete elimination of all counter-revolutionaries and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Yang Hsiu-feng, President of the Supreme People's Court, then spoke at the meeting.

Speech by Yang Hsiu-Feng

(Excerpts)

DM
THE murderous attempt of the active counter-revolutionary criminal Yang Kuo-ching is by no means an accidental or isolated case, but is a reflection of the current class struggle in China.

Our country is now in the high tide of a great proletarian cultural revolution. Holding high the great

red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals throughout the country are now actively participating in this acute class struggle on the political and ideological fronts in a vigorous effort to repulse the frenzied attacks of the anti-Party and anti-

socialist gang. In the context of the daily deepening class struggle at home, inveterate and vicious counter-revolutionaries like Yang Kuo-ching will recklessly take the adventurist step of carrying out open and brutal disruptive activities. Today's vivid and stirring class struggle fully proves that Chairman Mao's theory on the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society is perfectly correct and wise.

In the 16 years following liberation, and particularly under the guidance of the Party's general line for socialist construction which was put forward in 1958, China has achieved brilliant successes in socialist construction and the economic base for socialism has been set up and is being consolidated daily. Great victories have also been won on all fronts in the socialist revolution, and it is, step by step, developing in depth. The widely unfolding socialist education movement and the dynamic great socialist cultural revolution are furiously pounding with the force of thunderbolts the remnant forces of capitalism and feudalism on the political, military, economic, cultural and ideological fronts. The political consciousness of the broad masses of the people and their level of organization are steadily rising, and the system of the people's democratic dictatorship is firmly established. In the face of this great force, all monsters and freaks are frail and feeble. However, the reactionary classes are not reconciled to their fate of destruction. With the further deepening of the socialist revolution, they will find it more and more difficult to hide themselves and will inevitably put up a death-bed struggle, which finds expression in the criminal activities of Yang Kuo-ching and his ilk. Pending the final elimination of the reactionary classes, prolonged, repeated and intense class struggle is unavoidable. Back in 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out to us in his opening speech at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference:

The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down; they will still put up a final struggle. After peace has been attained throughout the country, they may still sabotage and create various forms of disturbances. Daily, hourly, they will try to restore their rule in China. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt. Therefore we must not relax our vigilance.

We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and never forget the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party and Government have all along followed a policy of combining suppression and leniency in dealing with reactionaries and criminals who oppose and try to disrupt the cause of socialism. We rely on the broad masses of the people to exercise dictatorship over the enemies of socialism, forcing them to obey the laws of the Government and do manual labour, and to reform them in the course of labour. Most of them can be remoulded into good people through the use of correct methods by the politically conscious masses. Pu Yi, the last feudal emperor of China, who has turned a new leaf because of this remoulding, is a typical case. But

it is inevitable that some members of the reactionary classes will stubbornly resist reformation and carry out disruptive activities whenever an opportunity offers itself. Yang Kuo-ching is just such a person. We must deal resolute blows at such active counter-revolutionary criminals, hitting them hard, squarely and in good time. If we let these elements go unpunished or if the punishment is not severe enough and administered in time, we would not be able to overawe our enemies, we would fail to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses in the struggle against them and there can be no consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

Yang Kuo-ching is the son of a despotic landlord. Our Party and Government never treat the children of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries or bad elements in the same way as their parents. We make reasonable arrangements for them to study and work, constantly strengthen their education and remoulding so as to enable the majority of them to draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and their reactionary families and take the road of socialism. In fact, many of them have made steady progress politically and are actively working for socialism at different posts. However, there are a few among the children of the above-mentioned four types of bad elements who, deeply influenced by their families, cling to the stand of the reactionary classes or even take part in disruptive activities. We can see such a process of differentiation in Yang Kuo-ching's family. Yang Kuo-ching himself refused to come to his senses and has finally taken the road of destruction, while his younger brother, born in the same family, is a member of the Communist Youth League and has chosen a bright road. We hope that the children of the four types of bad elements will all draw a lesson from Yang Kuo-ching's end, make up their minds to thoroughly remould themselves and follow the Party and the people of the whole country along the path of socialism.

Counter-revolutionary criminal Yang Kuo-ching, who was caught in the act, was not driven by a hatred for foreigners when he attacked them. He said in his confession: "It was my intention to create an international murder case and provoke an international dispute so as to spoil China's international good name." The counter-revolutionary nature of this case was clear enough. However, some people chose to spread the malicious idea that this incident was an indication of xenophobia among the Chinese people. This is a contemptible vilification of the Chinese people.

Our Party and Chairman Mao have constantly educated our people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. We Chinese people have drawn a clear-cut line of distinction between friends and foes in the international arena. We resolutely oppose the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of different countries. We do everything in our power to strengthen our solidarity and friendship with the people of other countries. We always keep in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that in international relations we must

firmly guard against sentiments of great-power chauvinism and narrow nationalism. Although the reactionaries in certain countries have constantly whipped up anti-China campaigns, discriminated against Chinese nationals, beaten up Chinese experts and students, shot and wounded Chinese diplomatic personnel and persecuted and slaughtered overseas Chinese, all foreign visitors or residents in China are always accorded warm and friendly reception by the Chinese people, and diplomatic, consular or other foreign missions in China, are also consistently protected in a responsible manner. It is utterly groundless to accuse the Chinese people of xenophobia.

Before going home after his recovery, Mr. Bakary Traore who had been unfortunately wounded in the incident, went to the Custody House of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau and sternly rebuked in person the active counter-revolutionary criminal Yang Kuo-ching. Mr. Bakary Traore said to him, "The kind of crime you have committed will never affect the friendship between China and Mali. It would not affect the relations between China and Mali even if I were killed. You do not love your motherland, but I love it!" These few words of Mr. Bakary Traore's give full expression to the sincere friendship of the Malian people for the Chinese people, and we are deeply moved by them. The criminal scheme of the active counter-revolutionary criminal Yang Kuo-ching has met with shameful failure. And no one will ever succeed in

undermining the friendship between the Chinese and other peoples by capitalizing on this unfortunate incident.

In the short span of a decade and more, our country has grown prosperous and strong with amazing speed, construction work in all fields has advanced by leaps and bounds, and the people have assumed a brand new mental outlook. In the international arena, we hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of proletarian internationalism, firmly oppose imperialism, the reactionaries of different countries, and modern revisionism, and firmly support the revolutionary struggle of all peoples. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung not only guides the Chinese people from victory to victory in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction but has also become an inexhaustible source of strength for the people of other countries in their revolutionary struggle. China's international prestige is rising ever higher; her revolutionary influence is becoming ever greater; we have friends all over the world. Although the class enemies both at home and abroad are collaborating with each other and trying their utmost to make our country retrogress and change colour, how can a handful of tiny mayflies topple the giant tree of socialism? No reactionary force on earth can halt us. The great People's Republic of China will certainly continue to advance victoriously and with giant strides along the socialist road!

Foreign Ministry Note

China Sternly Refutes Indonesian Government's Slanders

Following is the main text of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's June 9 note to the Indonesian Embassy in China. This note is in reply to the May 12, 1966, note of the Indonesian Government. — Ed.

IN its note, the Indonesian Government not only dodged the essence and truth of the bloody raid of April 15 on the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, in an attempt to deny its responsibility for this anti-China atrocity undermining the relations between the two countries, but lodged a so-called protest with the Chinese Government and slanderously accused the Chinese Government of damaging the relations between the two countries and interfering in Indonesia's internal affairs. This is a complete reversal of right and wrong and is utterly unreasonable. The Chinese Government firmly rejects your slander and your unwarranted protest.

(1) **The April 15 event in which Indonesian armed troops and Right-wing hooligans attacked and smashed up the Chinese Embassy was the peak of the campaign against China and Chinese nationals launched by the Indonesian side since last October. This outrage in violation of principles of international relations was perpetrated under the direct organization and planning of the Indonesian Government. You can in no way overthrow the iron-clad facts, although you flatly denied them in your note.**

Before the incident of April 15, Mr. Adam Malik, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Indonesia, made a written speech instigating activities against China and Chinese nationals at the meeting of the Right-wing hooligans preparing to attack the Chinese Embassy. As soon as the incident was over, he received representatives of the hooligans who committed the

outrages and highly commended them. This was not enough. On May 5 Mr. Malik again openly declared in the foreign policy statement he made at the Gotong-Rojong Parliament that the outrageous raid on the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia was "understandable and logical." This proves that the Indonesian Government was the direct organizer and open defender of this bloody incident.

The whole world knows that the Indonesian Government is now exercising a military rule. All parades and gatherings have to be approved by the military and government authorities. Without the orders of the Indonesian Government, how could there be large numbers of fully armed Indonesian troops and policemen taking a direct part in the outrages? But for the direct organization and command by the Indonesian Government, how could this shocking atrocity last as long as three hours without being stopped? The gate of the Chinese Embassy was forced open by armoured cars and trucks of the Indonesian armed forces. Mr. Chao Hsiao-shou, staff member of the Chinese Embassy, was shot at and wounded by an armed Indonesian soldier. How can you deny the mass of evidence in our possession? We advise you not to try to deny them, for the hooligans committing the atrocities under your command have already disclosed your secrets. After sacking the Chinese Embassy, they gleefully shouted, "We have fulfilled the task assigned by Uncle Suharto to smash the Chinese Embassy."

It was entirely proper for Chinese diplomatic officials to make righteous and stern representations against your barbarous anti-China atrocity and demand that it be dealt with speedily. It is absurd that the note should accuse the Chinese diplomatic officials of being "impolite" and "forgetting the rudimentary protocol principles" in their attitude, words and actions while making the representations. Should we have opened the door and bowed in the robbers when the hooligans under your command came to raid our Embassy? Should we have shaken hands and fraternized with you when your troops and policemen pointed their guns at our diplomatic officials? That was absolutely impossible.

(2) It must further be pointed out that the series of anti-China outrages in Indonesia since last October were also organized and engineered by you. You dispatched troops and organized hooligans to raid and wreck the Chinese Embassy, consulates and other missions as many as 25 times in succession, seized eight office or dwelling buildings of the Chinese missions and ordered the closure of the Office of the Hsinhua News Agency. While raiding the Chinese missions, your troops and policemen together with the hooligans committed arson, wrecked buildings and equipment, looted documents and property, damaged China's national flag and emblem and portraits and busts of China's state leaders and even injured 44 Chinese diplomatic or consular officials or journalists by assault and gun-fire.

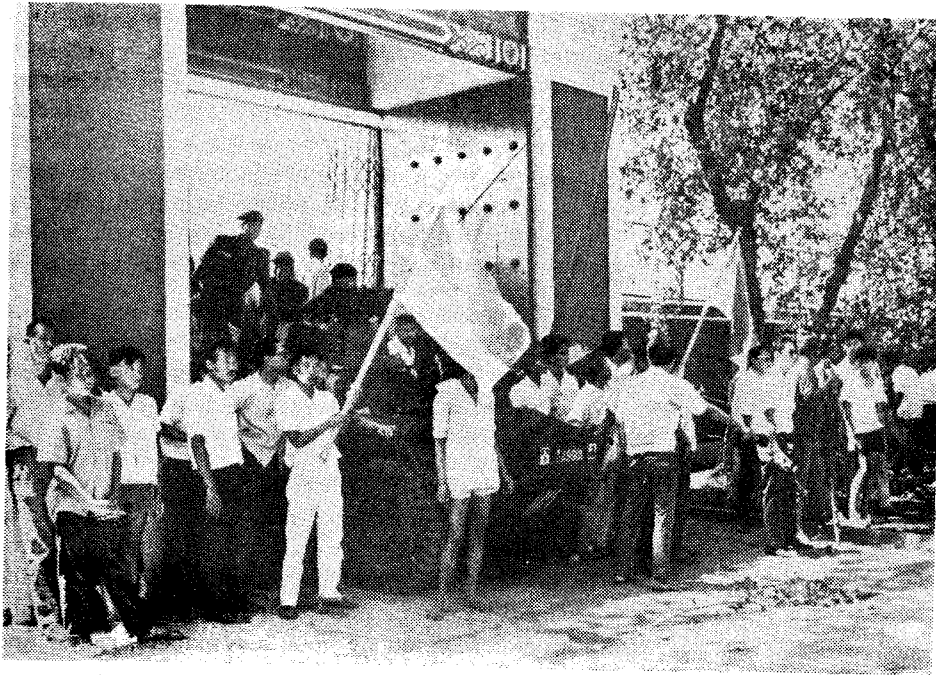
You have unscrupulously infringed on diplomatic privileges while diplomatic relations were still main-

tained between China and Indonesia. This is unprecedented in the history of international relations. It is a barbarity that even the Hitlerite fascists and the Japanese militarists did not resort to in dealing with the diplomatic missions of belligerent countries. You said that our accusation "is a gross insult to the dignity and prestige of the Indonesian Government." Actually, it is none but yourselves who have insulted the dignity and prestige of the Indonesian Government. We have in your country only a few dozens of bare-handed diplomatic personnel, but you have dispatched thousands of fully armed troops and policemen and hooligans equipped with lethal weapons to make savage attacks, committing arson, beating and looting and stopping at no brutality or evils. Can this be your honour instead of your shame?

(3) It is utterly absurd for the Indonesian Government in its note to describe the bloody crimes of persecuting Chinese nationals as an effort to "safeguard its national interests."

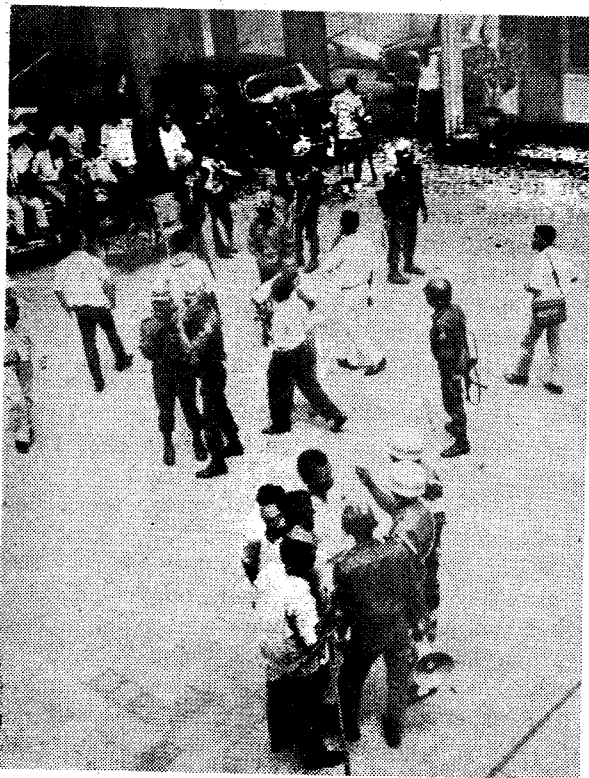
It is known to all that to protect the life and property of foreign nationals is an acknowledged principle guiding international relations. Moreover, under the treaty concerning foreign nationals signed by the Governments of China and Indonesia, the Indonesian Government has assumed the obligation to protect the proper rights and interests of the Chinese nationals. But since last October the Indonesian Government has, in disregard of all this, launched a racist campaign of discrimination against Chinese nationals and wildly persecuted innocent Chinese nationals. The campaign is on such a big scale that it has spread to several hundred cities and towns in various islands of Indonesia; the methods employed are so brutal that they far exceed the South African racist atrocities. You have mobilized troops and organized hooligans to burn and wreck the shops and homes of Chinese nationals, loot their property, forcibly occupy their schools, organizations and enterprises everywhere, unwarrantedly arrest and barbarously beat them and even savagely murder several hundreds of them. You have collaborated with special agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and made them your accomplices in an attempt to realize the scheme of "making Chinese fight Chinese." At present, more than 200,000 students among the Chinese nationals in Indonesia have been forced to quit school and nearly 10,000 teachers among them have lost their jobs. Thousands upon thousands of victimized Chinese nationals have been rendered homeless and deprived of food and clothing and are in dire distress.

Having perpetrated such inhuman persecution of Chinese nationals, unscrupulous violation of the principles guiding international relations and perfidious repudiation of international treaty obligations, the Indonesian Government shamelessly describes all this as an effort to "safeguard its national interests." Such methods are only used by the imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist and fascist countries and their vassal countries to safeguard so-called "national interests" and practise racism and racial persecution.



The armoured car used to force the gate when armed troops and thugs attacked the Embassy.

Photographs which prove that the Indonesian Government was the organizer of the April 15 raid on the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta. Indonesian troops and Right-wing thugs jointly participated in the outrage (refer to *P.R.*, Nos. 17 and 18).



In the embassy courtyard, the armed troops discuss with the hooligans their next move in the attack.



Escorted by a fully armed soldier, one of the thugs steals the Chinese national flag.



Arson inside the embassy grounds.

The Chinese nationals residing in Indonesia for generations have always lived in amity with the Indonesian people, actively supported them in combating imperialism and colonialism and developing their national economy and made positive contributions to the promotion of the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. Your frantic discrimination against Chinese nationals runs diametrically counter to the national interests of the Indonesian people. Under no pretext can you absolve yourselves of the crime of ruthless persecution of Chinese nationals. We resolutely demand that you at once stop your barbarous persecution of Chinese nationals. So long as you do not stop such persecution, the million and more Chinese nationals living in Indonesia will definitely not cease their just struggle. In no circumstances will the Chinese Government give up the right to use all possible means to protect its overseas nationals.

(4) Having committed so many evil deeds against China and the Chinese nationals, the Indonesian Government yet claims that it has the "good will to safeguard the relations between the two countries" and insists that the Chinese Government and people should believe these deceptive words. Nevertheless, your own actual deeds have long belied your words, which are deceptive and hypocritical. In its notes, the Indonesian Government has more than once assured the Chinese Government that there would be no more raids on Chinese missions. But far from stopping, the raids have become more and more frenzied. On April 18 this year, your Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Adam Malik sanctimoniously declared to correspondents that the Indonesian Government would continue to ensure the safety of the Chinese Embassy and the Chinese nationals in Indonesia. On April 19, the very next day, you organized hooligans to wreck and seize the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta. Soon afterwards, you also seized the Offices of the Commercial Counsellor and the Military Attache of the Chinese Embassy. In the meantime, you went even further in engineering outrageous persecution of Chinese nationals in various places. In these circumstances, how can one help considering your statement about your "good will to safeguard the relations between the two countries" as so many deceptive words?

Your note further says that you will treat all the previous official statements of the two countries and all the treaties and agreements signed by them as deceptive words. This is a threat, but it cannot scare anyone. In fact, your doings have long reduced almost to nought the actual effect of these statements, treaties and agreements. Among other things, you have repudiated the principle of opposing imperialism and colonialism and that of friendly co-operation laid down in the statements of the two countries, sabotaged the economic and technical co-operation and obstructed the trade between the two countries. On her part China has made every possible effort to uphold these statements, treaties and agreements. We have done all that we can. In the case of what we cannot do because

of your obstruction and sabotage, we have many times asked you to remove the obstacles, but you have turned a deaf ear to us. Therefore, the responsibility does not rest with us. In honouring the treaties and agreements, we owe you nothing. If you want to go further to completely violate the statements, treaties and agreements of the two countries, please go ahead. But we would like to point out that by doing so you will be picking up a stone only to have your own toes squashed.

(5) The Indonesian Government has not tired of saying that the broadcasts of Radio Peking and the reports of the Hsinhua News Agency interfere in Indonesia's internal affairs and damage her prestige. But what are the facts?

The Indonesian Government has been carrying on large-scale and uninterrupted anti-China propaganda so as to stir up sentiments against China and Chinese nationals. The number of anti-China statements made by your military and government bigwigs and anti-China articles released by your newspapers, radios and news agencies has reached several thousand. You have viciously attacked China's firm foreign policy of opposing imperialism and colonialism, smeared China as "yellow peril" and "China imperialism," and done your utmost to sow discord in the friendly relations between China and other Afro-Asian countries. You have wantonly vilified China's socialist system and domestic policies and slanderously charged that the Chinese Communist Party was guilty of "mass slaughter," that "the policy of 'Let a hundred flowers blossom' is designed to wipe out the intellectuals," etc. Moreover, you have cried that you are "unwilling to see Formosa fall into the hands of China" and brazenly suggested that the people in Taiwan and Tibet should be allowed "the right of self-determination." You have gone so far as to abuse the Chinese people's beloved leader and state leaders. Clearly it is you who have unscrupulously vilified China and grossly interfered in China's internal affairs.

It was in early last October that you started your anti-China propaganda campaign. The Chinese Government and people have all along exercised great restraint. It was not until after the attack on the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy by Indonesian armed forces on October 16, that the Chinese side, beyond tolerance, made public exposure of the criminal acts of the Indonesian reactionaries against China and Chinese nationals and objectively reported the change in the political situation in Indonesia. The exposure and reports were all based on your own words and actions, on Indonesian official documents and on news released by Indonesian papers and radios. The press media of all other countries have also made extensive reporting and comments on the situation in Indonesia, and yet they are not regarded as interference in Indonesia's internal affairs. Why should factual reporting by China alone become interference in Indonesia's internal affairs? Why should China be deprived of the right to report the truth while you have the freedom to attack and harm China

at will? To tell you plainly, we have not done too much but too little in exposing you. So long as you continue your reactionary policy and continue to oppose China and discriminate against Chinese nationals, we will not stop exposing and denouncing you. It is futile for you to attempt to gag China by the slander of "interference in internal affairs" and the measure of closing down the office of the Hsinhua News Agency!

(6) Your note says that the Chinese Government's charge that you have hired yourselves out to imperialism is "untrue." Actually this is not a debatable point. Your own words and deeds have provided the best evidence.

You have time and again declared that you will examine and re-evaluate the foreign policy pursued in the past. In fact, you have already changed your foreign policy. You have launched a massive campaign against China and Chinese nationals. You have stopped confrontation against "Malaysia." You regard the vicious enemies of the Indonesian people as your friends, and their close comrades-in-arms in opposing imperialism and colonialism as your enemies. Your actions have won praise and reward from imperialism. U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara stated smugly that past U.S. military aid to Indonesia had been well-invested. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk also declared that the United States must give powerful aid to Indonesia. The Japanese reactionaries, the modern revisionists and other accomplices of U.S. imperialism are also in great haste in providing you with all kinds of so-called aid. Can it be that they have done all this to you because you are opposing imperialism and not because you have become its retainers?

The foregoing facts irrefutably prove that it is the Indonesian Government that has committed the outrages of opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals and damaged Sino-Indonesian relations and that

it is the Indonesian reactionaries who have smeared and slandered China and insulted her national dignity. It is we, and not you, who have every reason to feel indignant. In order to cover up your crimes, you allege that China's exposure of your outrages has aroused the indignation of the Indonesian "people." This is an insult to the Indonesian people. What arouses the rightful indignation of the Indonesian people is that in Indonesia you have madly opposed the Communists and the people, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of people, drenched Indonesia in a bloodbath and imposed a savage fascist rule. The Indonesian people are fully justified to feel indignant at the fact that internationally you hire yourselves out to imperialism, brazenly oppose China and persecute Chinese nationals, wilfully violate principles guiding international relations and sabotage the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism. Your perverse activities have aroused the utmost indignation of the people of the Afro-Asian countries and the rest of the world. You can in no way escape just condemnation by hundreds of millions of people.

The Chinese Government wishes to tell the Indonesian Government once again in all seriousness that by docilely serving as pawns of U.S. imperialism and its collaborators against China, you can neither add to their strength nor bring yourselves to any good end. The Chinese Government solemnly demands that the Indonesian Government at once stop all activities against China and Chinese nationals, effectively protect the Chinese diplomatic missions and their personnel, ensure the proper rights and interests of the Chinese nationals and the safety of their lives and property and, in accordance with the reasonable demands of the Chinese Government and in a serious and responsible manner, deal with the whole series of incidents you have engineered in opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals. Otherwise, you must bear all responsibilities for wrecking the relations between the two countries.

Soviet Revisionists' Attempt to Sabotage Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting Denounced

D. MANUWEERA, representative of the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau R.D. Senanayake, and delegates of member countries of the Bureau told Hsinhua News Agency on June 12 that the meeting for splitting purposes, which the Soviet modern revisionists control from behind the scenes and which they had arbitrarily decided to hold in Cairo on June 15 for "consultations" on the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, was absolutely illegal. The aim of the Soviet revisionists was to undermine the Afro-Asian

Writers' Emergency Meeting which is scheduled to convene in Peking to discuss support for the Vietnamese people's struggle and other questions. They intended to sabotage the solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers in the struggle against imperialism and to serve U.S. imperialism and reaction.

In their statements, the representative of the Bureau's Secretary-General and other delegates called on Afro-Asian writers to come to Peking, the centre of revolution, and attend the Emergency Meeting.

Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Meeting Communique

(June 10, 1966)

THE meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau held in Peking from June 9 to 10, 1966, discussed the preparatory work of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting to be held in Peking from June 27 to July 6, 1966. Participating in the meeting were delegates from Cameroon, Ceylon, China, Ghana, Indonesia, Japan and the Sudan. The meeting heard and discussed the reports made by the representative of the Secretary-General and the delegation of the host country, China, on the preparatory work of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting. The delegates from all the participating member countries unanimously expressed satisfaction with the preparatory work that had been accomplished.

The meeting is pleased to note that the decision on the convening of an Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking, made by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, after full consultation with the member countries, has received warm response and active support from the Afro-Asian writers. Up to now, writers from over 40 Afro-Asian countries and regions have accepted the invitation of the bureau and decided to send delegates to the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting to be held in Peking from June 27 to July 6, 1966.

The meeting unanimously reaffirms the following proposed agenda for the forthcoming emergency meeting:

1) Support for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the liberation of the south, for the defence of the north, and for the reunification of their entire country.

2) Tasks of the writers in the Afro-Asian peoples' struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and for the winning and safeguarding of national independence.

3) Opposition to cultural aggression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and development of national culture of the peoples of Afro-Asian countries.

The meeting denounces the hypocrite revolutionaries, who collaborate with U.S. imperialism and who have been actively plotting to sabotage the emergency meeting, undermining the great cause of the Afro-Asian writers' revolutionary solidarity against imperialism, betraying the interests of the struggles of the Afro-Asian peoples, and serving the imperialists and the reactionary forces. The meeting unanimously and severely condemns such sabotage activities against the revolutionary

interests of the Afro-Asian writers and peoples, and fully endorses the correct steps already taken by the Secretary-General to counter such disruptive and splittist activities. It also points out that in the face of the mighty Afro-Asian writers' movement, such sabotage activities are doomed to complete failure.

The meeting calls upon all the anti-imperialist, revolutionary peoples and writers of Asia and Africa to heighten their vigilance and firmly unite together to crush all sabotage manoeuvres and to contribute to the success of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting.

At a time when the Vietnamese people are waging a heroic struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, at a time when peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America and the world over are fighting for national liberation and independence, the meeting calls upon the Afro-Asian writers to give, at this important and critical moment, their unreserved support to the forthcoming Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, make their pen a mighty weapon and, shoulder to shoulder with the Afro-Asian peoples, fight against and smash their common enemy, imperialism headed by the United States, and its lackeys and apologists.

D. Manuweera, representative of R.D. Senanayake, stated that the splittist Cairo meeting to be held from June 15 to 17 was illegal and absurd, because it had been endorsed neither by the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau nor by the member countries. This illegal attempt was made directly by the enemy of the Afro-Asian peoples and of the fighting Vietnamese people — the sham revolutionaries, that is, the modern revisionists. They used some persons as cat's-paws to sabotage the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting and disrupt the Afro-Asian writers' movement.

The Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, Manuweera recalled, had issued an official statement in Colombo on April 16 announcing that after consulting member countries, it had decided to convene an emergency meeting in Peking of Afro-Asian writers. The bureau meeting that opened in Peking on June 9 reaffirmed the decision to convene the meeting from June 27 to July 6. R.D. Senanayake had never entrusted any person or any organization to hold any meeting in Cairo.

Manuweera pointed out that the modern revisionists claimed in words that they supported the

struggle of the Vietnamese people, but now they were sabotaging the very meeting convened to support the Vietnamese people's struggle. This was clear proof that they, in collusion with the imperialists, were betraying the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people and the Afro-Asian peoples.

Manuweera called on the Afro-Asian writers, together with the Afro-Asian peoples, to wage a resolute struggle not only against U.S.-led imperialism but also against the sham revolutionaries. Both were real enemies of the people, he stated.

He expressed confidence that no scheme by the imperialists and the modern revisionists could succeed, nor could they prevent the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting from opening victoriously.

Agam Wispi, the delegate of Indonesia, said that the so-called "consultation" meeting was illegal and was designed to undermine the Afro-Asian solidarity movement. It would be controlled by the modern revisionists from behind the scenes. The revisionists attempted to use such splitting activities to wreck the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples against U.S.-led imperialism. The struggle of the Afro-Asian writers was part and parcel of the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples.

"This plot has helped us to recognize more clearly," Wispi added, "that in order to win their struggle, it is not enough for the Afro-Asian peoples to oppose imperialism; they must also oppose revisionism which is disrupting the Afro-Asian revolutionary movement."

He pointed out that if the splitters held their illegal meeting, the revolutionary writers in Asia and Africa should further close their ranks and expose and smash the plot, so as to ensure a greater success of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting soon to be held in Peking.

The representative of the Sudan, Osman Hassan Ahmed, said that the "consultation" meeting served to expose once again the complete subservience of the Soviet revisionists to U.S. imperialism. Organizationally, the revisionists followed a splitting line in the revolutionary movement throughout the world. The writers of Asia and Africa should help the people of their countries to see more clearly who was the enemy and who was the friend.

He said that the "consultations" were an insult to the African people who were in the midst of a fight for freedom and liberation, a provocation to revolutionaries and to the anti-imperialist writers of Asia and Africa and also a provocation against the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting.

"If the enemy sharpens his sword and aims at disrupting our revolutionary meeting, we must sharpen our sword and smash this splitting activity which serves imperialism by trying to divert the Afro-Asian peoples from their central struggle. I hope that writers who treasure the mighty and militant unity of the Afro-Asian writers will join the fighting ranks of the

revolutionary Afro-Asian writers, come and attend the historic Emergency Meeting at Peking, the centre of revolution, and give militant support to the heroic Vietnamese people who are standing at the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle."

Japanese delegate Yoshikata Yoda said that the Japanese Liaison Committee of the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference had received a cabled invitation to attend a meeting in Cairo. But the committee had decided to ignore this invitation because the convocation of any "consultation" meeting in Cairo was illegal.

It was known to all, he said, that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau had held a meeting in Peking on June 9 and 10 and had reaffirmed the decision to convene an emergency meeting of Afro-Asian writers in Peking on June 27 to support the Vietnamese people's struggle. The splitters had not turned up for the Peking meeting but wanted to hold another meeting in Cairo. This was clearly an act to help the enemy disrupt the Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity.

The so-called "consultations," the Japanese representative pointed out, was controlled by the Soviet revisionists behind the scenes in a futile attempt to block the solidarity of the revolutionary writers of Asia and Africa. They did not have the slightest desire to support the Vietnamese people's struggle.

The Soviet revisionists often tried to undermine the Afro-Asian solidarity movement behind the scenes, he said. It was they who caused a split in the World Conference Against Atom and Hydrogen Bombs held in Japan every August 6. "We should lay bare the plot of the Soviet revisionists and let the world's people know the truth. Once the Soviet people come to know the truth, they will not support these revisionists either. The plot of the Soviet revisionists is bound to fail."

Feze Marcel, the Cameroon delegate, said that the "consultations," called in such haste, were illegal because the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau had not authorized the convening of such a meeting. This was a plot to split Afro-Asian solidarity, he said. The progressive writers of Asia and Africa must resolutely smash this disruptive plot, continue their struggle and ensure the successful convocation of the Emergency Meeting of Afro-Asian Writers in Peking. Those who wallowed in the mud with the splitters would certainly be spurned by the Afro-Asian peoples.

When asked about the meeting for "consultations," **the Ghanaian delegates** told Hsinhua that they only know that they had been sent to Peking to take part in the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting and did not know of any other Afro-Asian writers' meeting to be convened elsewhere.

Chinese delegate Liu Pai-yu said that the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting had been decided

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ROUND THE WORLD

SOUTH VIETNAM

No U.N. Meddling Allowed

U.S. imperialism is cornered in south Vietnam both politically and militarily.

In the political field, although it has pressurized its feuding puppets into a "reconciliation," the internal strife among them has not been and can never be smoothed over. The contradictions among the puppets, between them and their American masters, between U.S. imperialism, its lackeys and the people are irreconcilable. As a matter of fact, the mounting anti-American feeling in south Vietnam early this month culminated in the burning of the American "consulate" in Hue. Buddhists in Saigon too continue to demonstrate, calling for a boycott of the puppet Nguyen Cao Ky administration.

On the battlefield, the U.S. aggressors have been badly trounced in their dry season "offensive" which has ended in complete failure; 43,000 American and satellite troops alone were put out of action during the "offensive."

The political and military crises affect each other adversely. The more setbacks the U.S. aggressors suffer on the battlefield, the more unstable the puppet regime becomes. The chaotic situation in the enemy-occupied area since Ngo Dinh Diem was killed by his American masters in 1963 has borne this out. On the other hand, the more unstable the puppet regime, the greater the military reverses the U.S. aggressors suffer.

The Johnson Administration has therefore put forward a new scheme for the United Nations to intervene in Vietnam by sending "observers" to south Vietnam for the September "elections."

The September "elections," it must be noted, are a deceptive measure aimed at resolving the internal strife within the puppet group, taking the edge off the struggle of the south

Vietnamese people and fooling world public opinion. How can there be "elections" that will reflect the will of the people when south Vietnam is occupied by 260,000 American aggressor troops who are waging an aggressive war there?

The United Nations is under the control of U.S. imperialism which, for many years, has been trying to involve it in the Vietnam question. Every time the Johnson Administration has escalated the war and committed more troops to south Vietnam, the U.S. representative to the U.N. has spread a "peace" smokescreen to cover up the bloody crimes of the U.S. aggressors. The U.N. has been used by the U.S. as an instrument to peddle its "peace talks" stratagem, whitewash its aggression and deceive the world. This latest scheme is merely another trick to let the U.N. meddle in the Vietnam question.

The U.N. has nothing to do with Vietnam. It has no right whatsoever to intervene in the Vietnam question. As *Renmin Ribao* pointed out in a commentary on June 8, even if U.S. imperialism flaunts the U.N. signboard, it can neither cover up its aggressive designs and the crimes it has committed there, nor can it block the revolutionary current of the south Vietnamese people's anti-American struggle for national salvation. Still less can it save itself from its final doom in south Vietnam.

IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS

NATO Falling to Pieces

Now "divided from top to bottom," as the Western press laments, NATO held the regular spring session of its ministerial council in Brussels on June 7 and 8.

Taking place when this instrument used by U.S. imperialism to control its allies is facing its most serious crisis yet because of the French decision to quit the "integrated" military structure, the Brussels meeting underlined that

the Western alliance is falling to pieces and that U.S. leadership in the imperialist camp is being challenged and shaken to its foundations.

The U.S. laboured mightily to rally the other 13 NATO countries to isolate France but few fell into line. To quote the *New York Times*, "the 14 loyal partners show little real harmony."

Usually the spring meeting is a "routine" one devoted to minor problems as major questions are dealt with at the winter session. But this year, the spring session was no longer a "routine" but an emergency conference to cope with the "consequences" arising from the French "revolt."

The U.S. made a big issue of the question of French forces stationed in West Germany in an attempt to force France to accept to a certain extent some kind of "integration" in disguise. This proved to be of no avail. At a meeting of 14 nations called the day before the council meeting, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk tried to form a "united front" against France. But, as the French press ridiculed, the "united front" collapsed less than a day after it was formed. Thus, the question is to be thrashed out in NATO's permanent council where France is on an equal footing with other countries.

The U.S. also intended to move the NATO permanent council out of France although the latter had not demanded the transfer of the council from its soil. The majority of nations, however, opposed this retaliatory move as they feared it might result in a final break with Paris. The meeting had to put off a decision on the American proposal until October.

Contradictions between the U.S. and France have advanced from the stage marked mainly by the U.S. trying to impose control on others and others' rejection of such control to a new stage characterized by a struggle for hegemony in Europe. Revolving around the two protagonists are West Germany, Britain, Italy and other West European

countries, each trying to outwit the other. West Germany, for instance, is trying to avoid a complete break with France—it still needs French political, economic and military support—without offending the U.S. whose help Bonn counts on to strengthen its political position in Western Europe and the NATO bloc. Britain is continuing to play its “balance of power” tactics, trying to fish in the troubled waters of U.S.-French, Franco-West German contradictions and contradictions inside the bloc.

The communique of the Brussels meeting also devoted considerable space to talk about “improving” relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries from a position of strength. Some na-

tions, while approving the American proposal for “improving relations” with the Soviet Union and East European countries so as to promote their “peaceful evolution,” also put forward different proposals for concrete action. Even on this question, France has chosen its own way. The problem of “East-West detente was not a matter for the Warsaw and Atlantic pacts to deal with, but instead it was the business of individual European nations,” declared the French Foreign Minister. He added that the French President’s forthcoming visit to Moscow should be seen in this context.

Simultaneously with the great split which is developing in the imperialist camp, the anti-American

storm which has been sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America, is also rising in American-controlled Western Europe. On the eve of the NATO meeting, more than 1,500 Belgians demonstrated to voice their opposition to making Brussels the new NATO headquarters. Alarmed, the Belgian authorities attacked the anti-U.S. demonstrators and even made arrests; they detained Communist Party leaders including Comrade Jacques Grippa and other patriots but had to release them later in the face of strong popular protests. This shows that no bayonets or prisons can contain the rising storm against U.S. imperialism, which is hated by all subjected to its aggression, control, interference and bullying.

(Continued from p. 37.)

upon by an absolute majority of the member countries of the Bureau in early April. The Soviet revisionists now had gone so far as to plot to convene “consultations” in Cairo. This was a serious attempt to sabotage and disunite the Afro-Asian writers and the Afro-Asian peoples.

Liu Pai-yu said that the movement of Afro-Asian writers had been born in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples. It was a reflection of the revolutionary desire for anti-imperialist unity of the Afro-Asian peoples and the Afro-Asian writers. It was marching forward holding high the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. This was why the Soviet revisionists had hated it and sabotaged it from the outset.

This Afro-Asian Writers’ Emergency Meeting was being called mainly to achieve a broader mobilization of the people to support the Vietnamese people’s struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The absolute majority of Afro-Asian writers were determined to come to Peking to take part in the Emergency Meeting and to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with their Vietnamese brothers. But, the Soviet revisionists not only had refused to take part in the meeting, they manipulated a handful of their blind followers or those who did not know the truth to go to Cairo to conduct a splittist meeting there. This again exposed their ugly features of sham support and genuine betrayal on the Vietnam question.

In order to curry favour with U.S. imperialism and sabotage the Afro-Asian national-liberation movement, Soviet newspapers in recent years had repeatedly published malicious attacks on the Afro-Asian

writers’ organization and its respected Secretary-General R.D. Senanayake. At the present critical juncture in the struggle, this criminal hand was stretching far from Moscow to obstruct and sabotage. This was a shameful betrayal of the Vietnamese people and the people in Asia and Africa who were carrying on a heroic struggle, shedding their blood and laying down their lives.

This crime could only arouse the great indignation and condemnation of the masses of the Afro-Asian peoples and honest writers. The revisionists would be more isolated, and put themselves in a position where they would be tried and judged by the Afro-Asian writers and peoples, Liu Pai-yu said.

The Soviet modern revisionists were acting in the Afro-Asian writers’ movement in line with the law of “make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom,” Liu Pai-yu said. No force could stop the revolutionary upsurge of the Afro-Asian peoples. All the imperialists, Soviet modern revisionists and reactionaries would be crushed by the wheel of history that was advancing irresistibly.

The Chinese people and their writers, who are host to the Emergency Meeting, warmly welcome the writers and anti-imperialist fighters of Afro-Asian countries to Peking to attend the Emergency Meeting and discuss questions of common interest.

“We are convinced that no reactionary force on earth can undermine the great friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the other Afro-Asian countries and the anti-imperialist solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples and their writers. The Afro-Asian Writers’ Emergency Meeting will certainly achieve complete success,” Liu Pai-yu said.

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